

IZVORI O TROJI, ILIONU, WILUSI



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IZVORI O TROJI, ILIONU, WILUSI

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Predgovor

Priča o Troji je već tri milenijuma prisutna u kolektivnom sjećanju, i tom iznimno dugom razdoblju manifestirala se u jednom širokom spektru od usmenog prenošenja pa sve do moderne pop kulture. Nema medija u ljudskom stvaralaštvu koji se nije bavio i koji nije obrađivao priču o Troji, bilo u njenoj cjelosti bilo u njenoj fragmentiranosti. Ta priča je imala toliko značenje za kolektivnu psihi, da su mnogi narodi (bolje rečeno njihove elite) kroz historiju imali potrebu da se nekako uklape u tu priču, ponajviše konstruiranjem ili čak pukim izmišljanjem origines teorija o porijeklu od Trojanaca ili nekih drugih aktera Trojanskog rata. Upravo radi toga su u stručnom svijetu, i to još od ranih perioda klasično - civilizacijske epohe, u priči o Troji traženi elementi historičnosti. Taj proces traženja i pokušavanja davanja stvarne slike o povijesnom Ilionu i historijskom kontekstu njegovog razvoja, nakon postavljanja prvih temelja u vrijeme arheoloških iskopavanja u posljednjim decenijama XIX. st., dobija dodatnu snagu i motivaciju sa pronalaskom hetitske arhive i dešifriranjem nešijskog jezika. A dodatno ubrzavanje, koje omogućava da se pokuša dati i prva prava, kakva – takva, slika o historičnosti Troje/Iliona/Wiluse daju obimna i sustavna arheološka istraživanja koja počinju 1988. god.

Smatrali smo shodnim da u jednom kraćem osvrtu prezentiramo tu potragu za historičnosti Iliona, poglavito orijentirani na nešijsko/hetitsku izvornu građu i njenu analizu. Jedna ovakva knjižica nudi posebnu korist studentima kao i svima onima koji bi se odlučili da se posvete arheološkim, historiografskim, lingvističkim, mitografskim, etnografskim istraživanjima priče o Troji ili bi nastojali da daju popularistički doprinos ovoj tematici.

Sa poštovanjem

Prof. dr. sc. Mesihović Salmedin

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Troja, Ilion, Wilusa

Ilijada se nalazi u samim temeljima naše civilizacije, duboko i neotuđivo utkana u sami njen bitak. Priča koja kao temu ima nastanak, razvijanje Ahilejeve srdbe (prvo prema Agamemnonu, a zatim prema Hektoru) i konačni prestanak te ljutnje, je do danas najrašireniji i najpoznatiji narativ. Ovaj ep je tako bio koncipiran i širen da se može smatrati da je cilj njegovog razvijanja bilo da „pretendira“ da bude „historijski narativ“. Kao takva je Ilijada više – manje, uz racionaliziranje i odbacivanje čudesa i božanskog, cirkulirala u epohi klasične civilizacije, pa i toku mediavnog razdoblja. Sa novim vijekom, ovakav pristup trojanskom ciklusu, gradu Ilionu (Ἴλιον, Ἴλιος, Τροία, *Ilium*, *Trōia*) i Ilijadi kao njegovom sastavnom dijelu, se počinje mijenjati. Tako se počelo odlaziti i u drugu krajnost, pa se ovom trojanskom narativu oduzimala bilo, pa i najmanja, historičnost i uglavnom se tumačio kao umjetnička epsko – literarna fabula i konstrukt Homera, homerida ili nekih drugih autora.¹ Međutim, otkrića Charlesa Maclarena, Franka Calverta i Heinricha Schliemanna na brdu Hisarlika, te kasnija arheološka istraživanja na ovom lokalitetu, kao i otkrića hetitske/nesijske dokumentarističke građe i odgonetanje hetitskog/nesijskog jezika su nakon skoro tri milenijuma donijeli konkretne nalaze i podatke koji omogućavaju kakav takav konkretniji znanstveni rad na problemu historičnosti Iliona i Ilijade.

Dosadašnji nivo arheoloških i topografskih istraživanja na lokalitetu Hisarlika i njegove neposredne okolice potvrđuju postojanje višemilenijumskog kontinuiteta naseobinskog načina života, i to i protourbanog i urbanog karaktera. Ukupno je do danas identificirano devet naseobinskih stratuma sa čak 46 podnivoa. Svi detektirani naseobinski stratumi su dobili nazive Troja I do Troja IX i datiraju se u rasponu od početka IV. milenijuma prije nove do ranoromejskog perioda. Arheološka istraživanja su potvrdila i postojanje donjega grada koji je zapremao znatno veću površinu u odnosu na Hisarlik, koji je vjerovatno bio ilionska unutarnja utvrda (tj. akropolis). Ovaj središnji, akropoljski dio grada je nosio naziv Pergam.

Pronađeni surheološki nalazi koji bi sugerirali da je možda došlo na ilionskom prostoru i do oružanog sraza krajem XIII. i početkom XII. st. p. n. e. Većina danas ozbiljnih znanstvenika (poglavito arheologa i klasičara) smješta onaj gradski nivo koji bi se mogao dovesti u vezu sa Ilionom iz trojanskog ciklusa i drugih starogrčkih i mediteranskih mitova i legendi u stratum Troja VII, iako ima i drugih mišljenja.²

¹ Dobar primjer odbacivanja bilo kakvog udjela historičnosti trojanskog ciklusa pruža George Grote u prvom tomu svoje epohalne edicije o historiji Grčke.

² Bryce, 2005:365 : „The more likely candidate for Homeric Troy is the final phase of the sixth level of the city—Troy VIIh. This level, with its imposing towers and distinctive sloping walls,36 accords much better with the Homeric description of Priam’s Troy than does its successor level. Blegen argued that there were clear signs that VIIh was destroyed by earthquake rather than by human agency, as indicated by cracks in the tower and wall

Na osnovi dosadašnjih istraživanja, pretpostavlja se da se naseobinski stratum VII razvio nakon vjerojatnog zemljotresa koji je razorio Troju VI. Grad je brzo obnovljen po planu koji je bio više nego uredan. Troja VII se kronološki datira u široki raspon od cc 1300 do cc 950. god. p. n. e. Troja VII je bila i dobro utvrđena. Manfred Korfmann procijenio je područje zahvata Troje VII (Hisarlık i podrgrađe-donji grad) na oko 200 000 m² ili više i njenu populaciju od 5 do 10 000 stanovnika.³ Te proporcije su za to vrijeme odavale značajan i razvijen grad. I Troja VII je imala svoje razvojne podfaze i to:

1. Troja VIIa koja zahvata XIII. st. p. n. e. i možda početak XII. st. p. n. e.
2. Troja VIIb koja zahvata XII. st. p. n. e.
3. Troja VIIb1 koja zahvata XI. st. p. n. e.
4. Troja VIIb2 i VIIb3 do cc sredine X. st. p. n. e.

Najčešće se sa Ilionom koji se spominje i opisuje u Ilijadi povezuje Troja VIIa, odnosno onaj stratum koji se na osnovi u njemu pronađenih ne keramičkih nalaza datira u XIII. st. p. n. e. i koji ima sloj koji svjedoči o nasilnoj (sa tragovima vatre) destrukciji koja je dovela do kraja Troje VIIa sa krajem XIII. ili početkom XII. st. p. n. e. Troja VIIa i VIIb su suvremene sa posljednjim periodima Mikenske kulture i Nešijskog/“Hetitskog“ Carstva. U stratumima Troja VI i Troja VIIa pronađeno je mnogo mikenske keramike koja se datira u period od kasnoheladskog perioda III A – III B (cc 1400. – 1200. god. p. n. e.), što sugerira vrlo intenzivne odnose Troade i ahejskog svijeta u brončano doba.⁴ Sudeći po nalazima,

of the citadel and evidence of floor subsidence. However while allowing for the possibility that this damage was caused by earthquake activity, we cannot be sure whether this happened in the last phase of Troy VI or the first phase of Troy VII, or on a scale large enough to cause the destruction of the whole site. By way of compromise, it has been suggested that Troy VIIh could still have been brought to an end by enemy action—perhaps assisted by an earthquake which made the city vulnerable to conquest.”.

³ Bryce, 2005:363 : „There can be little doubt that at the height of its prosperity in the Late Bronze Age, the citadel with its spacious residences was home to a wealthy, elite ruling class. And evidence uncovered by Blegen made it likely that at this time a substantial population also occupied the area immediately outside the citadel. That now appears to be confirmed. Excavations conducted on the site since 1988, under the direction of Professor Manfred Korfmann, have furnished evidence of a ‘lower city’, adjacent to and extending c.400 metres southwards from the citadel. The evidence is in the form of Late Bronze Age house remains, beneath the later Hellenistic and Roman levels, located next to as well as some distance from the citadel wall, and the remains of what the excavators believe to be a fortification system, consisting of a possible wall and beyond that a palisade and two ditches.²¹ An underground water system which dates back to the Early Bronze Age, and wells sunk apparently during the Late Bronze Age, are adduced as further evidence for the existence of a significant Bronze Age settlement south of the citadel mound. On the basis of the conclusions drawn from these findings—conclusions which have admittedly been the subject of some acrimonious debate—the recent excavations have resulted in a tenfold increase in the area known to be covered by Hisarlık-Troy, from 20,000 to 200,000 square metres, during the period of levels VI and VII. In size Troy was roughly comparable to the city of Ugarit.²⁴ Given the extent and food producing capacity of the region in which it lay, Professor Korfmann estimates that Troy could have supported a population of between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants.”.

⁴ Po Bryce, 2005:364 : „There can be no doubt that Hisarlık-Troy was the centre of a prosperous if not politically or militarily powerful northern Anatolian kingdom, and lay in a zone of dense population amid great expanses of rich, arable soil. Through most of the Bronze Age, it had widespread commercial and cultural contacts.

i nakon razaranja Troje VIIa, na lokalitetu se nastavilo naseobinski živjeti i to u fazama VIIb. Izgleda da su Troja VIIb1 i Troja VIIb2 stradale u požaru, a Troja VIIb3 napuštena sredinom IX. st. p. n. e.⁵

Priča o Troji

Osnovni grčki, (odnosno kasnije i rimski) izvor za Wilusu jeste „priča o Troji“, skup u prvom redu sačuvanih i fragmentiranih dijelova onih homerskih i nehomerskih epova iz epskog ciklusa⁶ (Επικός Κύκλος) koji su se odnosili na Trojanski rat, poznatih starogrčkih mitova i legendi, a zatim i drugih dostupnih poetskih, proznih i vizuelno – umjetničkih djela o trojanskoj priči nastalih u epohi klasične helensko – rimske civilizacije. Iz dijela epskog ciklusa „priče o Troji“ su sačuvani u cjelosti homerski⁷ epovi:

1. Ilijada (Ιλιάς), koja opisuje samo jedan kraći period zbivanja u toku devete godine ratovanja pred Ilionom, i koje su obilježile ljutnje ahejskog heroja Ahileja.
2. Odiseja (Οδύσσεια), koja opisuje 10godišnja lutanja i povratak Odiseja na Itaku.

Mycenaean pottery in various sub-levels of level VI reflect contacts between Troy and the Mycenaean Greek world. Contact between mainland Greece and Troy is attested even in the Middle Bronze Age.“

⁵ Prvotna sustavna iskopavanja koja je vodio i usmjeravao Heinricha Schliemanna, samo sa mnogo boljom arheološkom metodologijom su nastavili Wilhelm Dörpfeld i Carl Blegen. Intenzivnija iskopavanja su bila obnovljena 1988. god. od strane timova Univerziteta iz Tübingen i Univerziteta iz Cincinnatia pod vodstvom Manfreda Korfmanna i uz pomoć Briana Rosea.. Iskopavanja su nastavljena u ljeto 2006. god. pod vodstvom Ernsta Pernicka. Međunarodna interdisciplinarna ekipa vođena od Williama Aylwarda je započela nova istraživanja. U martu 2014. god. je najavljeno da će nova istraživanja biti sponzorirana od privatne kompanije i vođena pod vodstvom Rüstema Aslana i Univerziteta Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart.

O arheološkom lokalitetu Troja v. *Schliemann, 1881; Wood, 1985; Korfmann, 1992; Isto, 1993; Isto, 1994; Isto, 1995; isto, 1996; Isto, 1997; Isto, 1998; Isto, 1999; Isto, 2000; Jablonka – König – Riehl, 1994; Jablonka, 1995; Allen, 1995; 1999; Carter – Morris, 1995; Korfmann – Mannsperger, 1998; Easton – Hawkins - Sherratt, A.G. - Sherratt, E.S., 2002; Shepard – Powell, 2004; Bauer, 2007; Korfmann – Winkler, 2007.*

⁶ O epskom ciklusu v. Welcker, 1849 – 1865; Monro, 1883; Allen, 1908; PWRE, 1922, XI. 2, col. 2347 – 2435; Severyns, 1928; Isto, 1938 (1953, 1963); Isto, 1962; Kullmann, 1960; Griffin, 1977; Clark, 1986; Kakridis, 1987; Davies, 1989; Burgess, 2001; Isto, 2004; Marks, 2001; Latacz, 2004.

⁷ O Homeru i „homerskom pitanju“ v. Smith W., 1849:II, 500 – 512; PWRE, 1913, VIII. 2, col. 2145-2182; 2188 – 2247; Isto, 1914, IX. 1, col. 1000 – 1060; Geddes, 1878; Jevons, 1886; Caldecott, 1896; Fowler, 1903; Newhall, 1908; Monro, 1911; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 1916; Buck, 1928; Budimir, 1940; Auerbach, 1953; Murray, 1960; Lord, 1960; Wace, 1962; Kirk, 1962; Isto, 1965; Isto, 1976; Isto, 1985 – 1993; Parry, 1966; Parry – Parry, 1971; Nilsson, 1972; Đurić, 1972:25 - 121; Isto, 1976:45 – 50; Isto, 2003:29 - 128; Fenik, 1974; Luce, 1975; Willcock, 1976; Burkert, 1979; Nagy, 1979; Isto, 1997; Isto, 2010; Jensen, 1980; Lefkowitz, 1981; Janko, 1982; Schein, 1984; Mueller, 1984; Foley, 1985; Isto, 1999; Edwards, 1987; Silk, 1987; Jones, 1988; Isto, 2003; Heubeck, 1990 – 1993; Reynolds - Wilson, 1991; Powell, 1991; Isto, 1998; Isto, 2004; Isto, 2007; Ford, 1992; Seaford, 1994; Morris – Powell, 1997; Bakker, 1997; Grafton, 1997; West, 1997; Isto, 2001; Isto, 2010; Carlier, 1999; Lord - Mitchell, 2000; Vidal-Naquet, 2000; Postlethwaite, 2000; Jong, 2001; Isto, 2004; Varsos, 2002; Graziosi, 2002; Finley, 2002; Latacz, 2002–; Isto, 2004; Romilly, 2005; Kahane, 2005; Dalby, 2006; Gibson – Milman, 2007; Dickey, 2007; Harris, 2007; Fox, 2008 (2010); Nikoletseas, 2012.

U fragmentima su za sada dostupni sljedeći epovi :

3. Kiprija (Κύπρια), autorstvo se pripisuje Stasinu⁸ (Στασίνος). Kiprija je u 11 knjiga obrađivala događaje koji su doveli do Trojanskog rata i prvih devet godina rata, i vjerojatno je komponirana u pisanoj formi u toku arhajskog doba. Pored Stasina, autorstvo poeme se pripisivalo i Hegesijas⁹ (Hegesinu) iz kiparske Salamine, Kipriju iz Halikarnasa i Panijasisu iz Halikarnasa.¹⁰
4. Etiopis (Αἰθιοπίας), autorstvo se pripisuje Arktinu¹¹ iz Mileta (Ἀρκτῖνος Μιλήσιος). Etiopis je u 5 knjiga opisivao događaje nakon onih koji su opisani u Ilijadi, ep je vjerojatno komponiran u pisanoj formi u toku arhajskog doba.
5. Mala Ilijada (Ἰλιάς μικρά), je u četiri knjige opisivala događaje nakon smrti Ahileja pa do pada Iliona. Vjerojatno je komponirana u pisanom obliku u arhajsko doba. Autorstvo se pripisuje Leshesu¹² (Λέσχης). Pored Leshesa, autorstvo se pripisivalo i Kinetonu¹³ Lakedemonjaninu (Κιναίθων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος), Diodoru iz Eritre, Testoridu iz Fokeje (Θεστορίδης).
6. Pad Troje (Ἰλίου πέρσις), autorstvo se pripisuje Arktinu iz Mileta. Pad Troje u 2 knjige opisuje sami pad Iliona. Vjerojatno je komponiran u pisanoj formi u arhajsko doba.
7. Povratci (Νόστοι), autorstvo se pripisuje ili Agiju (Ἀγίας) ili Eumelu iz Korinta (Εὐμέλος). Povratci u 5 knjiga opisuju povratke ahejskih vojskovođa nakon Trojanskog rata. Poema je vjerojatno komponirana u pisanom obliku u arhajsko doba.
8. Telegonija (Τηλεγόνεια), autorstvo se pripisuje Eugamonu iz Kirene (Εὐγάμων). Telegonija je poema u 2 knjige koja govori o Telegonu, sinu Odiseja i Kirke. Vjerojatno je komponirana u pisanom obliku u arhajsko doba. Pored Eugamona, autorstvu se pripisivalo i Kinetonu Lakedemonjaninu.

Starohelenska mitologija i egejska tradicija o Ilionu i Troadi, pored epova, su svoj izražaj nalazili i u nizu drugih djela,¹⁴ ponajviše u djelima atenskih dramaturga (npr. Eshil, Sofokle, Euripid) i grčkih i rimskih mitografa (npr. „Biblioteke“ Pseudo – Apolodora, Konon, Higin, Kvint iz Smirne), rimskih pjesnika (npr. Vergilijeva Enejida, Ovidijeve Metamorfoze), komentatora i šolija na Ilijadu, Odiseju i Enejidu (npr. Maur Servije

⁸ Smith W., 1849:III, 899-900

⁹ Smith W., 1849:II, 368

¹⁰ Kiprija, 2003:65

¹¹ Smith W., 1867:I, 276; PWRE, 1895, II. 1, col. 1172.

¹² Smith W., 1849:II, 772; PWRE, 1925, XII. 2. col. 2135 - 2136

¹³ Smith W., 1849:III, 752; PWRE, 1921, XI. 1, col. 462 - 463

¹⁴ Graves, 1966; Isto, 1999; Isto, 2012 : mitovi 29; 158 – 169.

Honorat), pseudo – historiografskih djela (npr. „autora“ Daresa Frigijskog i Diktisa Kretskog). Trojanski ciklus je bio korišten i u stručnim djelima iz klasično – civilizacijske epohe. Na osnovi dostupnih literarnih vrela se može reći kako ga je veliki dio historičara koristio i kao izvornu građu u svojim djelima (npr. Herodot, Tukidid, Diodor, Dionisije iz Halikarnasa, Livije, Velej Paterkul, Plutarh, Kasije Dion, Jovan Malala). Dosta podataka iz trojanskog ciklusa je uzimano i kao odrednice u zemljopisnim djelima (npr. Strabon i Pausanija). Trojanski ciklus je bio i riznica za djela klasično – civilizacijskih filozofa (npr. Platon, Aristotel) i enciklopedista (Plinije Stariji). U klasično – civilizacijskoj vizuelnoj umjetnosti motivi i opisi iz trojanskog ciklusa su bili vidljivo prisutno (npr. *Tabula Iliaca*).

Dokumentarna građa Nešijskog („Hetitskog“) Carstva

Za razliku od epske i mitološke i tradicijske građe koja je uveliko iskvarena i kako je vrijeme prolazi sve više preslojavana i pouzdane, i „šutljive“ i još uvijek poprilično nedovoljne arheološke građe sa kojom se raspolaže, postoji ipak (istina dosta skromna po obima) i nemjerljivo pouzdanija historiografska građa koja se odnosi na ovo razdoblje kasnog brončanog doba i zapadne dijelove Male Azije (kojima pripada i Troada). Riječ je o do danas otkrivenim i poznatim dokumentima nešijske/“hetitske“ produkcije koji nude izvjesne podatke o političkim zbivanjima i stanju i na zapadu Male Azije u kasnobrončano doba. Samo na osnovi onoga što je do sada otkriveno i poznato može se tvrditi da je nešijska/“hetitska“ dokumentaristička produkcija bila vrlo obimna i svestrana. Ali, problem je što se vrlo, vrlo mali dio oficijelnih dokumenata odnosi na područje i vrijeme na kojima je fokus našega istraživanja. To su oni dokumenti u kojima se spominju zemljopisne odrednice Wilusa (*wi₅-lu-ša*/Wiluša; Wilusiya) i Taruisa (Taruiša; Truwisha). U znanosti je relativno rano (u odnosu na početke znanstvenog istraživanja „trojanskog pitanja“) od švajcarskog znanstvenik Emila O. Forrera postavljena ova teza¹⁵ i još uvijek nije oborena relevantnim argumentima.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bryce, 2005:359 : „The Swiss scholar Emil Forrer claimed to have found such references. In the course of his discussions of Ahhiyawa in the 1920s, Forrer drew attention to the place names Wilusiya and Taruisa, which are mentioned together in the Annals of the Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II. These names appear last in a list of countries in western Anatolia which had rebelled against Hittite rule early in the New Kingdom (see Ch. 6). According to Forrer, they were the Hittite way of writing Troia (Troy) and (W)ilios (Ilios). Forrer noted references in other texts to the vassal kingdom Wilusa, particularly in the treaty drawn up early in the thirteenth century between the Hittite king Muwattalli and the Wilusan king Alaksandu. The latter recalls the name of the Trojan prince Alexandros (Paris) in the Iliad. Other identifications of Homeric names with Anatolian names have been suggested. Thus Priam(os), the name of the Trojan king, has been equated with Pariya-muwa or even Piyamaradu, and Eteocles (*Eteowclewes), son of Andreus, king of Orchomenos, with Tawagalawa.“

Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011:1 -2 : „The origins of the Ahhiyawa Question, and the ensuing debate, go back to 1924, when the Swiss scholar Emil Forrer gave a lecture in Berlin and then published two articles on the topic, in the German periodicals *MDOG* and *OLZ* (1924a, 1924b; see now Beckman forthcoming). Based on his readings of approximately twenty-five texts among the thousands that had been found in the archives of the

I nedavna arheološka otkrića na područje arheološkog lokaliteta Troja potvrđuju podatke iz hetitskih dokumenata koji se odnose na Wilusu. Tako se spominje vodeni tunel u Wilusi, a vodeni tunel koji je pronađen na arheološkom lokalitetu Troja (a za koji se ranije mislilo da je iz rimskog doba) danas se datira čak u period sredine III. milenijuma p. n. e.¹⁷

Hittite capital city Hattusa during the German excavations that had begun at the site in 1906 under the direction of Hugo Winckler, Forrer tentatively linked Ahhiyawa to the Mycenaeans of the Bronze Age Greek mainland, that is, the Achaeans. He also made connections between specific individuals and place names mentioned in the Ahhiyawa texts and those from Greek legends about the Trojan War. These included identifying Lazpa in the Ahhiyawa texts as the island of Lesbos; Taruisa as the city of Troy; Attarissiya and Tawagalawa as the legendary Greek heroes Atreus and Eteokles; and so on. Forrer was not the first to suggest such possibilities, for Luckenbill—back in 1911—had already suggested a link between Alaksandu in the Ahhiyawa texts and Alexander/Paris, legendary prince of Troy (Luckenbill 1911; see now Beckman forthcoming), a connection which Forrer repeated and endorsed. However, Forrer's articles were the most systematic and thorough studies presented up to that point. Forrer's suggestions were met with a variety of reactions, ranging from acceptance to disbelief. Reservations were raised almost immediately by a number of scholars, including Kretschmer in 1924 (see also 1935, 1936), who equated Wilusa in the Hittite texts with (W)Ilios/Troy of Greek legend rather than with Elaiusa in Cilicia as per Forrer, and Hrozný in 1929, who linked Milawata in the texts with the city of Miletus in western Anatolia, rather than with the lesser known location of Milyas, as per Forrer (Beckman forthcoming).”.

¹⁶ Winckler, 1907; Forrer, 1920; Isto, 1924; Hrozný, 1922; Kretschmer, 1924; Götze, 1928; Friedrich, 1930; Heinhold-Krahmer, 1977; Isto, 2003; Isto, 2004; Houwink, 1983; Singer, 1983; Isto, 2008; Mellink, 1986; Güterbock, 1986; Otten, 1988; Poetto, 1993; Carter – Morris, 1995:34 – 35; Hawkins, 1995; Isto, 1998; Beckman, 1996; Starke, 1997; Haider, 1997; Isto, 2003; Latacz, 1997; Isto, 2001; Isto, 2001 A; Isto, 2002; Isto, 2004; Niemeier, 1999; Neumann, 1999; Peschlow-Bindokat – Herboldt, 2001; Hajnal, 2003; Isto, 2003 A; Bryce, 2005; 2012; Oberheid, 2007; Hoffner – Beckman, 2009; Vangelis, 2009:305 – 307; Fischer, 2010; Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011.

U odnosu na ovu sada već relativno ustaljenu tezu u znanosti, potrebno je reći da postoje i drugačija mišljenja. Tako cirkulira i stav da Wilusu ne treba identificirati sa Ilionom, nego da se ona nalazila na mjestu znatno kasnijeg romejskog grada "Ilouza" (Ιλουζα), današnji Beycesultan. Međutim, lokalitet Beycesultan se nalazi znatno južnije i u dubini je kontinentalne unutrašnjosti, dok je kasnobrončanodobna Wilusa bila primorska i sigurno se nalazila na sjeverozapadu.

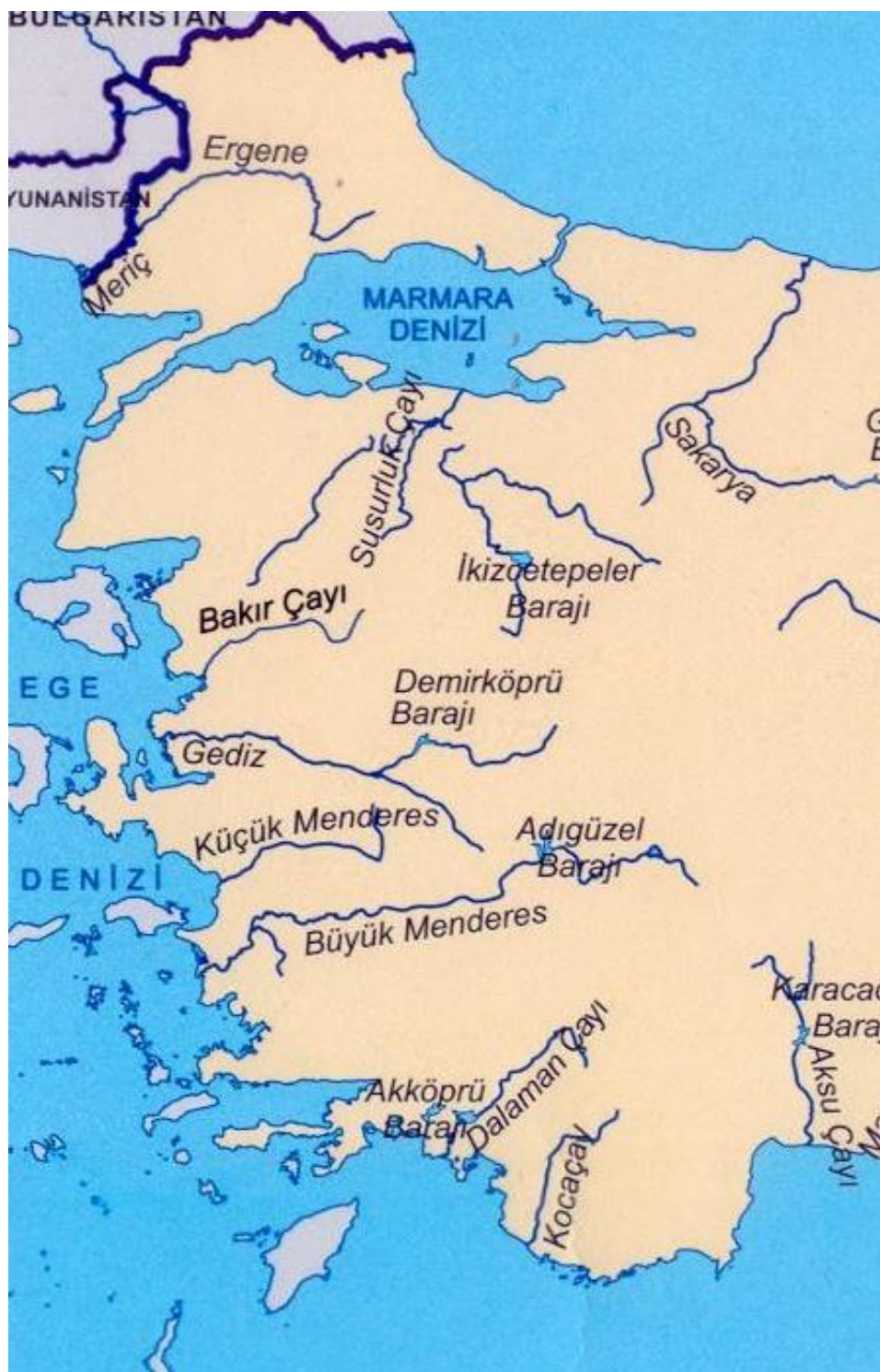
¹⁷ Latacz, 2002:2-3 : „In 1997 final confirmation came – after Starke's location of Wilusa – from an archaeological discovery: in the western area of the Lower City at Troia a spring cave with three arms for conducting water into a subterranean reservoir was excavated which ran more than 100 metres down into the mountain. Radiometric studies conducted by the Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1999/2000 showed that this was a man-made facility for providing water which had been dug by the early 3rd millennium BC. This discovery shed new light on a particular item in the Alaksandu Treaty: in § 20 of that treaty, in which the chief gods of the two parties to the treaty are invoked as witnesses to the oaths and wreakers of revenge on potential infringers of the treaty, one of the divinities of the land of Wilusa is also invoked "the way into the underworld of the land of Wilusa" (KASKAL.KUR). There can be hardly any room for doubt that the subterranean spring venerated as a divinity means the spring uncovered by the Korfmann excavation.“ Latacz, 2004 : „In addition, an archaeological discovery made in Troy in the 1997 and 1998 digs, after Starke had established the geographical locations, must have given determined sceptics pause for thought. On the western side of the lower town (squares t-u 14–15), directly in front of the presumed lower town wall, a deep cave cut into the hill was found, with one broad main arm 13 metres long and three narrow channels branching off it, one of them over 100 metres long (Fig. 18). This was originally a small subterranean reservoir, the overflow from which was carried through a high-set conduit to the outside, where it was stored in tanks. When it was uncovered, about 30 litres an hour still flowed into the inner storage from the left-hand tributary. Through all the channels together, 500 to 1,400 litres a day still drip or flow even today. According to a stone-dating process carried out in 1999–2000 by the radiometry research team at Heidelberg Academy of Sciences (A. Mangini and N. Frank), this installation was built as early as the beginning of the third millennium bc as a 'water-mine'. What is of most significance for us about this discovery is not so much the installation itself—special though it is—but the fact

Identifikacija se slaže i sa metričkim dokazom iz Ilijade i Odiseje koji sugerira da je ime Ἴλιον (Ilion) ranije počinjalo sa digammom i bilo i zvučalo Fίλιον (Wilion).

Radi datacije dokumenata je potrebno navesti vrijeme vladavine nešijskih/“hetitskih“ vladara iz „Novoga Kraljevstva“ :

Tudhaliya I/II	}	Kasno XV. – sredina XIV. st. p. n. e.
Arnuwanda I		
Hatušili II?		
Tudhaliya III		
Šupiluliuma I.		cc. 1350–1322. god. p. n. e.
Arnuwanda II		cc. 1322–1321. god. p. n. e.
Muršilis II		cc. 1321–1295. god. p. n. e.
Muvatal II.		cc. 1295–1272. god. p. n. e.
Urhi-Teshshup (Muršilis III.)		cc. 1272–1267. god. p. n. e.
Hatušili III.		cc. 1267–1237. god. p. n. e.
Tudhaliya IV.		cc. 1237–1209. god. p. n. e.
Kurunta???		???
Arnuwanda III.		cc. 1209–1207. god. p. n. e.
Šupiluliuma II		cc. 1207–?. god. p. n. e.

that in the so-called ‘Alaks’andu Treaty’ between the Great King of the Hittites and Alaks’andu of Wilusa, in Paragraph 20 (see p. 110), where the swearing of oaths is recorded, as is customary in such treaties, among the ‘gods of Wilusa’ invoked is a ‘subterranean watercourse of the land of Wilusa’. In treaties of this kind it was natural to invoke, in addition to great gods of supraregional importance, local gods who were particularly dear to the signatories and whose vengeance—we may suppose—would smite the other party, in the case of breach of treaty, with particular fury. (From a later time we may compare formulae such as ‘by my mother’s head’.) It would be strange indeed if the ‘subterranean watercourse of the land of Wilusa’ recorded in this document were not identical with the ancient water-supply system discovered by Korfmann’s excavation in the hill of Hisarlık.“



Zapadna Mala Azija sa modernim toponimima

Ukupno je do danas poznato šest referenci na grad Wilusa u nešijskim/“hetitskim“ dokumentima i to:

1. Anali Tudhaliya I/II. CTH 142/85

U ovim Analima su osvjedočene uspješne sukcesivne vojne kampanje hetitskog vladara na zapadu Male Azije.¹⁸ Glavna meta su bile zemlje Arzawe, ali i niz drugih zapadno-maloazijskih zemalja je bio izložen ovim kampanjama. Tudhaliya I/II. je nakon prvih pobjeda u prijestolnicu Hatušu doveo i veliki broj zarobljenika. Ali, Tudhaliya I/II. nastavlja dalje, da čim se vratio u Hatušu, protiv njega se udružio čitav niz zapadnoanadolskih državnica. Navodi se spisak od 22 političke jedinice na maloazijskom zapadu koje su stvorile ovaj protu-hetitski savez, između ostalih i Wilusiya i Taruisa. Združenu protivničku vojsku, Tudhaliya I/II. je napao u toku noći i razbio je u potpunosti. Hetitska vojska je nastavila napredovati i osvajati zemlje koje su se ujedinile protiv Tudhaliya I/II. Tom prilikom je zadobio veliki plijen koji je prenio u Hatušu. Tudhaliya I/II. konstatira da je čim je razorio Assuwa, da se vratio u Hatušu sa 10 000 zarobljenih vojnika, 600 onih koji su kao tim/ekipa koristili bojne kočije, te da ih je naselio u Hatuši. Tom prilikom je u Hatušu doveo i kraljevske porodice poraženih zemalja. Tudhaliya I/II. je po povratku u Hatušu iz ove grupe dovedenih kraljevskih porodica pustio izvjesnog Kukkulija, ali je on skupio 10 000 vojnika i 600 bojnih kočija iz zemlje Assuwa i podigao ustanak. Ali, Tudhaliya I/II. je čim je saznao za ovu bunu, ugušio je, i tom prigodom je ubijen i Kukkuli. Ali dok je Tudhaliya I/II. boravio u zemlji Assuwa i tamo se borio, vojska Gasga je napala zemlju Hata i opustošila je. Čim se Tudhaliya I/II. vratio u Hatušu, Gasge su pobjegle, ali ih je Tudhaliya I/II. sa svojom vojskom slijedio i ušao u zemlju Gasga i tamo izvojevao veliku pobjedu. U daljem tekstu Tudhaliya I/II. nabraja i kasnije svoje pobjede u zemlji Gasga, te u drugim zemljama i nad drugim narodima.

O ovim analima Trevor Bryce (2005:125 – 126) navodi i sljedeće: „From Tudhaliya’s reference to the destruction of the Land of Assuwa, apparently a collective term embracing all the abovementioned countries, the enemy coalition is commonly referred to as the Assuwan Confederacy. The group of states making up the Confederacy probably lay in the far west of Anatolia, covering at least part of the Aegean coast. A number of scholars believe that Assuwa is the origin of the Greco-Roman name Asia, drawing attention to the fact that the Roman province of Asia was originally centred in this region. If the first name in the list, [Jugga, can be restored as [L]ugga (= Lukka), then the Confederacy may well have extended as far south as the region of Classical Lycia, part of the homeland of the Bronze Age Lukka people. Attention has also frequently been drawn to the last two names in the list—Wilusiya and Taruisa—with the suggestion that these are the Hittite forms of the

¹⁸ Garstang - Gurney, 1959: 122; Carruba, 1977: Bryce, 2005:123 – 127.

Greek names (W)ilios (Ilion) and Troia (Troy). This will be further discussed in Chapter 14. There is another possible reference to Taruisa on a silver bowl of unknown origin, now housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. The bowl bears two Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, one of which records the conquest of a place called Tarwiza by a king Tudhaliya. It is tempting to link this event with the conquest of Taruisa (and other western countries) in Tudhaliya's Annals. This would, however, make the inscription by far the earliest of all known hieroglyphic inscriptions apart from those appearing on seals—if the Annals have been correctly assigned to the Wrst king called Tudhaliya.”. Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce i Eric Cline u svome djelu “The Ahhiyawa Texts” o ratu Tudhaliya I/II. sa savezom Assuwa (2011:269 – 270) navode: “According to the extant evidence, Mycenaean involvement in western Anatolia, and probable interaction with the Hittites, had apparently begun by the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, sometime before the Assuwa Rebellion in the late-fifteenth–early-fourteenth century b.c.e. The Annals of Tudhaliya describe Assuwa as a confederacy of twenty-two cities and areas in western Anatolia, including Taruisa and Wilusiya (Wilusa in other texts), that is, the region, and probably the city, of Troy (KUB 23.2 ii 13–39, iii 9–10). This coalition rebelled against the Hittites in the late fifteenth century b.c.e., forcing Tudhaliya to send an army and quash the revolt. Mycenaean involvement in the rebellion is circumstantially indicated by a bronze sword of either Mycenaean manufacture or Mycenaean influence that was discovered in 1991 at Hattusa, the capital city of the Hittites. On the sword is an inscription written in Akkadian that states: “As Tudhaliya the Great King shattered the Assuwan country, he dedicated these swords to the Storm-God, his lord” (see full discussion in Cline 1996; 1997, with earlier references). Mycenaean involvement in the rebellion may also be circumstantially indicated in a much later Ahhiyawa text (AhT 6). This is a translation into Hittite of a letter sent by the king of Ahhiyawa to a Hittite king, probably Muwattalli II, in the early- to mid-thirteenth century b.c.e., and which is at least partly concerned with much earlier events. The letter, which until recently was thought to be have been sent by Muwattalli but is now identified as one of the few to have been dispatched by an Ahhiyawan king (see Latacz 2004: 243–44), is concerned primarily with the ownership of a group of islands lying off Anatolia's Aegean coast that had formerly belonged to the king of Ahhiyawa, but that had apparently been seized by the Hittites. Within the letter, after the greeting from the king of Ahhiyawa in the first line, we are told (in the reconstructed text) that, sometime in the past, a Hittite king named Tudhaliya (undoubtedly I/II) had defeated the king of Assuwa and subjugated him. The letter is damaged and incomplete, but it now seems, based on the new transliteration and translation by Beckman and the commentary by Bryce presented above, that a diplomatic marriage had taken place between the current Ahhiyawan king's “great-grandfather” and an Assuwan princess at a time prior to the Assuwan rebellion and that the islands were transferred by the Assuwan king to the bridegroom as part of the dowry. The Hittites claimed that Tudhaliya's victory over Assuwa had given them possession of

Assuwa's offshore territories but, according to the letter's author, the victory had only taken place after these territories had already been presented to Ahhiyawa. Now the Ahhiyawan king was seeking to reaffirm his claim to the islands through diplomatic means. The new translation of this letter does not necessarily indicate that the Mycenaeans were actually drawn into the Assuwa Rebellion or that it was an example of an earlier or pre-Trojan War, as previous translations had potentially suggested (see Cline 1996; 1997; cited in Kelder 2004–2005: 65 and 2010b: 25), but the inscribed sword found at Hattusa does imply some sort of involvement nevertheless. At the very least, it is clear that the Mycenaeans were present on the western coast of Anatolia by the late - fifteenth – early - fourteenth century b.c.e. and interacting diplomatically with the Assuwans and, quite likely, the Hittites as well.”

Sudeći po dokumentu CTH 142/85, uvezano sa podacima sa dokumenta AhT 6 = CHT 183, u vrijeme vladavine Tudhaliya I/II (kasno XV. i početak XIV. st. p. n. e.) Wilusa se nalazila u protuhetitskom savezu, kojega je uspješno porazio Tudhaliya I/II. Pobjeda Tudhaliya I/II. nad Assuwa doprinijela je da se doseg nesijске/hetitske hegemonije protegne do svijeta Ahhiyawa, odnosno Ahejaca i Mikenske civilizacije. Prije same pobjede Tudhaliya I/II. princeza iz Assuwa se udala za kralja Ahhiyawa, a kao miraz je donijela određene egejske otoke nedaleko od maloazijske obale. Ovaj brak je vjerojatno bio i diplomatska aktivnost od strane Assuwa kako bi se dobila dodatna podrška od ratničkih Ahejaca u predstojećem sukobu sa Hetitima. Arheološki nalazi bi mogli potvrđivati i moguće učešće mikenskih Grka u protuhetitskim vojnama na zapadu Male Azije, i to na strani domicilnih zajednica. Nakon što je Tudhaliya I/II. stavio pod svoju kontrolu i zapadne dijelove Male Azije, izgleda da je došlo do stavljanja pod kontrolu i ovih otoka koji su bili miraz princeze iz Assuwa. Pozivajući se na pravo na taj miraz, Ahhiyawa kralj, daleki nasljednik i potomak onoga Ahhiyawa kralja koji je oženio princezu iz Assuwa, u svome pismo nesijskom/hetitskom vladaru (možda Muvatalu II.) još uvijek polaže pravo na ove otoke. Činjenica da Ahhiyawa kralj stoljeće i par decenija kasnije se poziva na legitimnost svoga prava na vladavinu nad grupom egejskih otoka, jasno ukazuje prvo na dugovječnost ove Ahhiyawa dinastije, a zatim i da je ona birokratski uređena sa funkcionalnim arhivom i prevodilačkim i diplomatskim službama. Postavlja se naravno pitanje, kojim je teritorijama vladala ta konkretna Ahhiyawa dinastija, je li ona imala uporište i središte na europskom dijelu Egeje i da li su možda mikenske dinastije Danaida, Perseida ili Pelopida ili neke druge starohelenske mitološke (npr. tebanske Kadmejske ili atičke Erihtonidske) dinastije održavale neku reminiscenciju na nju. Jedino bi se moglo, a na osnovi smisla teksta dokumenta AhT 6 = CHT 183, sa većom preciznošću odgovoriti da je Ahhiyawa dinastija iz ovoga dokumenta imala svoje središte na kontinentalnom europskom dijelu Egeje.

Nejasno je zašto se zasebno spominju Taurisa i Wilusa. Već u klasičnoj civilizaciji se desilo miješanje trojanskog i ilionskog imena, da bi u kasnijim epohama trojansko ime značajno

potisnulo ono ilionsko. Odnos trojanskog i ilionskog imena u izvornom smislu je još uvijek nerazjašnjen. Uglavnom se tumači da se trojansko ime odnosilo na predio, regiju, narod i da je ono prethodilo ilionskom imenu (Tros je otac Ila, osnivača grada) koje se samo odnosilo na grad iz kojega se vladalo Troadom i Trojancima. U starohelenskoj mitologiji i klasičnocivilizacijskoj tradiciji trojansko ime se koristilo i za kraljevstvo, i za narod i za grad, ali se ilionsko koristilo samo za grad. Moguće su izvorno stvarno postojale zasebne političke jedinice pod trojanskim i ilionskim imenom, kako bi sugerirali Anali Tudhaliya I/II. i pronađena posuda sa imenom Tarwiza. Te jedinice bi se kasnije našle možda našle ujedinjene ili u nekom drugom kontekstu uvezane što bi doprinijelo da mikenski Grci i njihovi homerski nasljednici uvežu trojansko i ilionsko ime u svojoj mitologiji i tradiciji. Po pitanju odnosa Taruise i Wilusiyu jedino bi se moglo preciznije odgovoriti da to što se u Analima Tudhaliya I/II. pominju jedna uz drugu sugerira da su one bile u bližem zemljopisnom okruženju i sigurno bile susjedne. Dodatno pitanje u ovu problematiku unosi i spomen Dardanaca u egipatskim Kadeš natpisima. Oni isto pripadaju području Troade i nejasan je odnos i ovog etnonima prema trojanskom i ilionskom imenu. U mitološkom trojanskom ciklusu Dardanija je subordinirana Ilionu i njome vladaju predstavnici pobočne linije trojanske dinastije, a koju reprezentiraju Anhis i Eneja.

Ime Azija (*Asia*) moguće potiče od imena Ἀσσοῦ/*Assos/Assus* (danas Behramkale ili Behram), naseobine, grada, zajednice u Troadi.¹⁹ Iako je *Assos*, kao helenska apoikija, osnovan od eolskih naseljenika u periodu XI. – X. st. p. n. e., nije nemoguće pretpostaviti da su naseljenici za svoju naseobinu uzeli toponimsko, naseobinsko ili regionalno ime koje je već bilo u upotrebi od starosjedilačkog brončanodobnog življa. Ime ovoga grada – zajednice možda ima i određenu vezu sa već spomenutom brončanodobnom Assuwa zemljom/kraljevinom, koja se pojavljuje u nešijskim/“hetitskim“ vrelima (CTH 142/85 i AhT 6 = CHT 183) i koja se po njima suprotstavila ovom velikom maloazijskom carstvu negdje na kraju XV. st. p. n. e., cc 1400. god. p. n. e.

¹⁹ *Strab.* XIII, 1, 2; 51; 56 – 58; 66; *Epictetus, Enchiridion*, 53; *Plut. Mor. De exilio* 14; *Paus.* VI, 4, 9; *Ath.* IX, 17.

Ako bi se sudilo po homerskim poemama i starohelenskoj mitologiji, područje na kojem se nalazio antički *Assus*, je u vremenu „Trojanskog ciklusa“ pripadao Lelegima, jednoj od Ilionu subordiniranih, savezničkih zajednica. Po Strabonu (XIII, 1, 58 - 59) neki pisci Lelege predstavljaju kao Karijce ali da ih Homer razlikuje, pa i Strabon izvlači zaključak da su Lelegi i Karijci različiti narodi. Po njemu su Lelegi živjeli između one zajednice kojom je upravljao Eneja i Kiličana. Nakon što su bili opustošeni od Ahileja, oni su se iz sjeverozapadne Male Azije preselili i naselili se u zemlji oko Halikarnasa (jugozapadna Mala Azija) koja je dobila ime Karija. I ovaj podatak ukazuje da su se u vrijeme krize sustava brončanodobnih civilizacija dešavale velike etničke, narodnosne i političke pretumbacije u egejskom i istočnomediteranskom pojasu koje su nalikovale na „domino efekt“. More je bilo „zasićeno“ flotilama koje su prevozile zajednice na nova odredišta ili samo ratnike u pohodima.

2. Manapa – Tarhunta pismo (AhT 7 = CTH 191)²⁰

U ovom dokumentu Manapa - Tarhunta, kralj zemlje rijeke Seha se obraća neimenovanom „njegovom veličanstvu“ nešijskom/„hetitskom“ vladaru koji je njegov gospodar, a on sam sluga nešijskog vladara. Navodi da je sve dobro u zemlji, vjerojatno misleći na svoju domenu. Zatim govori da su došle (vjerojatno na područje njegove domene) hetitske trupe sa zapovjednikom po imenu Kassu, i da su otišle dalje u zemlju Wilusa kako bi je napale. Pošto on osobno nije učestvovao u tome pohodu, Manapa – Tarhunta se opravdava svome gospodaru da je ozbiljno bolestan. Onda prelazi na drugu temu, retrospektivno govoreći o tome kako ga je izvjesni Piyama-radu ponizio i postavio Atpu nad njim, napao zemlju Lazpa (vjerojatno otok Lezbos) i da su mu se bez pridružile sve, bez izuzetka, „bojadije u purpur“ koje su pripadale Manapi – Tarhunti. Napominje i da su se i sve, bez izuzetka, „bojadije u purpur“ koje su pripadale i „njegovom veličanstvu“ pridružile Piyamu-radu. Nisu se samo „bojadije u purpur“ pridružile Piyamu-radu, nego i oni koji su bili odgovorni i nadležni za njih. Ove „bojadije u purpur“ su se predstavile Atpi govoreći da su oni osobe koje daju porez (vjerojatno u robu koju proizvode) i da su oni prešli more (sa Lazpe na maloazijsko kopno) i da žele da isporuče taj porez. Naveli su da je i izvjesni Siggauna počinio kriminalni čin, ali da oni nisu učinili ništa. Nakon toga, Atpa ih je oslobodio, u smislu teksta dokumenta (pisma Manape - Tarhunte) da se vrate pod hetitsku vlast. Piyama-radu je onda Atpi poslao Siggauna sa pitanjem zašto će ih on vratiti. Kada je Atpa čuo poruku, nije ih vratio. Ali sada je Kassu došao i poslao je Kupanta – Kurunta, kralja zemlje Mira, Atpi sa porukom da oslobodi bojadije koje su pripadale njegovom veličanstvu. Atpa je onda oslobodio do posljednjeg bojadiju koji je pripadao njegovom veličanstvu. Zanimljivo je da Manapa – Tarhunta u svome pismu Muvatalu II. kao da želi da na neki način opravda ove bojadije, nego da je krivac Siggaun, čovjek Piyama-radua.

O ovom pismu vrijedi citirati sljedeći odlomak iz Beckman - Bryce - Cline, 2011:143 – 144: „The Seha River Land was part of the western Anatolian complex known as the Arzawa Lands. From information provided by our texts, it has been located in the northwestern segment of Anatolia, between Mira to the south and Wilusa to the north. The Seha River is probably to be identified with the Classical Caicus (modern Bakir) or the Hermus (modern Gediz). Manapa-Tarhunta, ruler of the land, first appears in Hittite records as a rebel against Hittite sovereignty at the beginning of Mursili II's reign (AhT 1). After Mursili accepted his submission and reinstated him on his throne, he remained a faithful Hittite subject through Mursili's reign, and the reign of his successor Muwattalli II until the latter deposed him and installed his son(?) Masturi in his place. His removal from power was due not to any

²⁰ Hoffner – Beckman, 2009: 293 – 296; Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011:140 – 144. Sam tekst pisma nije sačuvan u cjelosti sačuvan, pa se pojavljuju određene lakune koje otežavaju razumijevanje i sadržaja i smisla teksta. Radi toga se umjesto prevođenja sa engleskog na BHS jezik, smatralo da je bolje i efikasnije da se tekst parafrizira ili ekscerptira.

apparent act of treachery or disloyalty by him, but to his failure to provide the Hittites with effective support in his region against insurrectionists like Piyamaradu. His excuse for not supporting a Hittite military expedition to Wilusa may have been genuine enough—he was no longer a young man and may well have been enfeebled by advancing years—but he was clearly becoming a serious liability to his overlord, at a time when Muwattalli needed to ensure strong and stable leadership among his western vassals as he prepared for his forthcoming campaigns in Syria. His illness may have served as the final catalyst for his removal from his throne. We do not know precisely why Muwattalli sent a Hittite expeditionary force to Wilusa. Kassu's task as the leader of the force was perhaps to liberate it from a foreign invader, or perhaps to put down an uprising by the local population. The passage reporting the episode is too broken to be sure of this. Piyamaradu was certainly active in the region at this time, but he does not appear in the text until after Manapa-Tarhunta has apparently completed his report of the Wilusa episode. Marking this in his letter with a paragraph divider, the Hittite vassal then moves on to an account of Piyamaradu's activities against his own country, the Seha River Land. Piyamaradu inflicted a humiliating defeat upon Manapa-Tarhunta, and then appointed his son-in-law Atpa as his superior, thus the *de facto* ruler of his kingdom. He next proceeded to attack the island of Lazpa (Classical Lesbos), a dependency of the Seha River Land. A group of craftsmen from the island defected to Atpa as a consequence. We know from the Tawagalawa Letter that Atpa (there attested as the son-in-law of Piyamaradu) was the ruler of Milawata, under the overlordship of the king of Ahhiyawa, at the time the letter was composed. He may have occupied this position already at the time of Manapa-Tarhunta's letter, and if so, his installation as ruler of the Seha River Land marked a significant extension of the territory over which he held authority. It may be that in addition to the Seha River Land and its dependency Lazpa, Mira was also absorbed within this newly created kingdom of western Anatolian states, since it lay between the Seha River Land and Milawata. Kupanta-Kurunta, the current ruler of Mira, is mentioned in a fragmentary passage at the end of the surviving portion of the letter. (He also appears in the same context as Piyamaradu in KBo 19.78.) Piyamaradu may have set his sights on Wilusa as well, if the broken passage about Wilusa in Manapa-Tarhunta's letter does in fact belong to the same context as the Seha River Land episode that follows it. We have no record of the outcome of the Hittite expedition to the region. But it evidently succeeded in reasserting Hittite authority over both Wilusa and the Seha River Land, in view of the treaty that Muwattalli drew up with Alaksandu, vassal ruler of Wilusa (Beckman 1999: 87–93), and the appointment of Masturi as Hittite vassal ruler in the Seha River Land in place of Manapa-Tarhunta. But Piyamaradu himself eluded the Hittites' grasp. On this as on other occasions, Ahhiyawa was probably the driving force behind his activities as he sought to eliminate Hittite authority throughout the western Anatolian lands, no doubt with the intention of paving the way for the establishment of Ahhiyawan dominance in the region.“

Manapa – Tarhunta je bio lokalni zapadnomaloazijski vladar koji se u hetitskim dokumentima (AhT 1 = CTH 61) prvi put pojavljuje kao pobunjenik na početku vladavine Muršilisa II. Nakon što se ipak potčinio Muršilisu II., Manapa Tarhunta je bio lojalan podanik hetitskoj hegemoniji. Na kraju je ipak za vrijeme Muvatala II. bio smijenjen sa svoga položaja kralja zemlje oko rijeke Seha i zamijenjen sa Masturijem (možda sinom Manapa – Tarhunte), i to nakon ovih dešavanja koja opisuje dokument AhT 7 = CTH 191. Ponajviše je razlog za smjenu bilo to što se već znatno ostarjeli i bolesni Manapa – Tarhunta pokazao nesposobnim da izađe na kraj sa problemima koje je u egejskom priobalju izazivao ponajviše Piyamu – Radu.

Pošto samo pismo vjerojatno pripada završnom periodu vladavine Manape – Tarhunte (koji je već star i ozbiljno bolestan), pa bi u tom slučaju neimenovani hetitski vladar kojem Manapa – Tarhunta šalje pismo bio Muvatal II. Wilusa se locira iza rijeke Seha²¹. Glavna tema pisma, kako se može razlučiti iz sačuvanog dijela, je prebjeg grupe vještih „bojadija u purpur“, u antičko doba vrlo zahtjevnog i vrijednog zanata. Wilusa se tu pojavljuje samo kao poprište određenog sukoba u koji je bila umiješana i nešijska/“hetitska“ vojska. Na područje Wiluse, nešijska/“hetitska“ vojska je prodrla iz domene u području rijeke Seha kojom upravlja Manapa – Tarhunta, vazal Nešijskog carstva. Nepoznato je zašto Muvatal II. šalje trupe na Wilusu, i kako se završava ta ekspedicija. Za pretpostaviti je da je ona bila uspješna i da je ponovo potvrđen hetitska hegemonija na području Troade. U prilog toga bi govorilo da je samo dolazak trupa pod komandom Kassua u egejsko priobalje bio dovoljan da se Atpa povinuje zahtjevima hetitskog zapovjednika, te činjenica da Muvatal II. više nema problema na zapadnim granicama i da se mogao posvetiti svojim kampanjama na Levantu i sukobima sa Egiptom sa kulminacijom u velikoj bitci kod Kadeša koja se odigrala krajem maja 1274. god. p. n. e.²² O tome da je Muvatal II. u vrijeme rata sa Egiptom kojim tada vlada Ramzes II.²³, imao puni autoritet i na zapadu, govorila bi i činjenica da su se u okviru njegove armije u bitci nalazili i kontingenti iz vazalnih zapadnomaloazijskih državnica. Tako se na „Kadeš natpisima“²⁴ koji komemoriraju ovu bitku (naravno promatrano

²¹ Rijeka pod imenom Seha/Šeha, a koja se pojavljuje u nešijskim/“hetitskim“ dokumentima, je bila ili rijeka Bakırçay (helenski : Καϊκός; latinski : *Caicus*; *Caecus*; ranije *Astraeus*; Aksu) ili rijeka Gediz (Έρμος; Hermos; Hermus; nešto južnije od Bakırçaya, odvaja Joniju od Eolide) ili još južnija rijeka Küçük Menderes ili rijeka Büyük Menderes River (*Maeander*; *Meander*; Μαίανδρος) na jugozapadu Male Azije. Kada se inače identificiraju rijeke koje se spominju pod različitim imenima u različitim epohama, potrebno je uvijek imati na umu da su tokovi rijeka promjenljivi. To bi značilo da pravac dijela ili cijeloga toka neke rijeke ne moraju biti isti u antici i danas.

²² O bitci kod Kadeša v. Healy, 1993.

²³ Ramzes II. je bio treći faraon iz XIX. dinastije i spada u red najčuvanijih egipatskih faraona. Živio cc 1303. – juli ili august 1213. god. p. n. e. (vladao 1279. – 1213. god. p. n. e.). U grčkim izvorima se spominje kao Οσμανδίας. Doba njegove vladavine se smatralo vrhuncem moći Novoegipatske epohe.

²⁴ „Kadeš natpisi“ je skupina egipatskih hijeroglifskih (poglavito epigrafskog tipa i manje na papirusu) natpisa, u kombinaciji sa reljefnim prikazima, koji opisuju bitku kod Kadeša i to u vidu dva glavna izvora: „Izvjestaja“ i „Poeme“. Ovi natpisi se pojavljuju na hramovima u Abidosu, Luksoru, Karnaku, Abu Simbelu, Rameseumu.

sa egipatskih stajališta i kao pobjedu egipatske vojske pod komandom faraona Ramzesa II.) spominju kao saveznici Muvatala II. i Arzawa, Dardanija (iz Troade), Mizija, Lukka (Likija i Karija).

Ali sređivanje situacija i obnova hetitske hegemonije u egejskom priobalju nije značilo da je riješen i problem zvan Piyama-radu, koji je nastavio izazivati hetitsku supremaciju u Egeji i hetitske tamošnje vazale. Aktivnost Piyama – Radua je bila tema i narednih dokumenata u kojima se spominje Wilusa.



Nešijsko/“hetitsko“ carstvo (sa vazalnim državicama i zajednicama) za Muršilisa II.

U „Poemi“ se daje spisak hetitskih saveznika. O ovim natpisima v. Gardiner, 1960; Hartman, 1967; Lichtheim, 1973; Ockinga, 1987; Spalinger, 2002.

3. Alaksandu ugovor (CTH 76)²⁵

Ovaj diplomatski ugovor (sa okvirnom datacijom cc 1280. p. n. e.) između nešijsko / “hetitskog“ vladara Muvatala II. i kralja Alaksandua je najvažniji dokumentarni izvor za povijest Wiluse.

Nakon svjetovne i božanske intitulacije Muvatala II, tekst dokumenta započinje sa historijskim uvodom. Tako se ističe da je nešijski/“hetitski“ vladar Labarna²⁶ potčinio cijelu zemlju Arzava i cijelu zemlju Wilusu. Poslije toga je Arzawa počela rat, a ipak, Muvatal II. ne zna, jer događaji su se desili u dalekoj prošlosti, kralja zemlje Hatuše (prijestolnice Hetitske države) od kojega se zemlja Wilusa otcijepila; pa čak i kada se zemlja Wilusa odijelila (u smislu da nemaju zajedničku granicu) od zemlje Hatuša, bliske veze prijateljstva su bili održavane sa zemljom Hatuša i izaslanici su bili redovno slani. Onda se govori o tome kako je hetitski vladar Tudhaliya²⁷ vodio pohod na zemlju Arzawa. Kralj Wiluse je bio u miru sa hetitskim vladarem i slao mu je redovno poslanike, pa Tudhaliya nije pokretao pohod na zemlju Wilusa. Kada je Arzawa ponovo počela rat, tada je Muvatalov djed Šupiluliuma I. došao i napao Arzawu. I tada je kralj Wiluse po imenu Kukuni bio u miru sa Šupiluliumom I.

Muršilis II. je proveo reorganizaciju zemalja zapadne Male Azije, kako bi dodatno učvrstio hetitski utjecaj i vlast na ovom području. Tako je zemlju Arzawa prepustio Piyama – Kurunti, zemlju Kuwaliya izvjesnom Mashuiluwi, zemlju rijeke Seha i zemlju Appawiya Manapi – Tarhunti, zemlju Hapala izvjesnom Targasnalliu. Dalje se nastavlja govoriti o vremenu nakon što je Muvatal stupio na prijestolje, kako je Alaksandu (koji je tada bio kralj Wiluse) nastavio prohetitsku politiku i priznavanje njihove vrhovne vlasti. Tada je Arzawa počela rat protiv Muvatala, a i napali su područje koje je pripadalo Wilusi. Suočen sa napadom, Alaksandu se obratio za pomoć Muvatalu. Hetitski vladar se odazvao i tom prilikom je nanio teške gubitke zemlji Masa i drugim zemljama čija se imena ne mogu identificirati zbog oštećenosti teksta.

²⁵ Beckman, 1996:82 – 88. Sam ugovor je prilično dugačak, a i dijelovi teksta su izbrisani ili fragmentirani, pa bi bilo besmisleno ga prevoditi u bukvalnom smislu.

²⁶ U ovom dijelu se govori o dosta ranom periodu u odnosu na vrijeme nastanka ugovora. Labarna I. je bio tradicionalni prvi vladar Nešijskog/“hetitskog“ carstva početkom XVI. st. p. n. e. Možda se ovaj podatak odnosi ustvari na drugog hetitskog vladara po imenu Hatušili I. (vladao cc. ca. 1586–1556. god. p. n. e.), koji je kao nasljednik isto koristio ime Labarna kao titulu početkom svoje vladavine. A postoje u znanosti mišljenja i da su ustvari Labarna I. i Hatušili I. jedna te ista osoba. Inače, dokumenti potvrđuju da su i Labarna I. i Hatušili I. postavili granice na morsku obalu. U „Proklamaciji kralja Telepina“ (iz oko sredine XVI. st. p. n. e.) se navodi da je Labarna I. pobijedio svoje neprijatelje i da je granicu postavio na moru. U tablici pisanoj klinastim pismom dvojezično na akadskom i jeziku Neša, pronađenoj 1957. god., tvrdi se da je Hatušili I., između ostaloga, proširio vlast do mora i da je vojevao protiv Arzawe na zapadu Male Azije.

²⁷ Bilo je više nešijsko/“hetitskih“ vladara po imenu Tudhaliya. U ovom slučaju je najvjerojatnije riječ o Tudhaliya I/II.

Nakon prezentiranja u kraćoj formi historijata odnosa između Nešijskog/"hetitskog" carstva i Wiluse u uvodu ugovora, prešlo se na same odrednice ugovora o "savezništvu". Ipak te odrednice jasno pokazuju da to "savezništvo" nije na jednakim osnovama, i da je Wilusa ta koja je subordinirana strana. U prvom dijelu se govori o tome kako se garantira pravo na nasljeđivanje legitimnih nasljednika Alaksandua kroz generacije i da će ih Muvatalovi nasljednici štititi. Tako da oni koji su neprijatelji Alaksandua, da će biti i neprijatelji Muvatala II. Ali sa druge strane, i nasljednici Alaksandua će morati poštovati Muvatalove nasljednike kao svoje gospodare. Zatim se govori kako u slučaju pobune protiv hetitskog vladara ili strane invazije treba reagirati vazal iz Wiluse. Vladari Wiluse su obavezni i da obavljaju i neku vrstu obavještajnog rada u hetitsku korist, pa tako ako čuju o nekim zlim planovima nekih ljudi zemlje Seha rijeke ili zemlje Arzawa da reaguju u skladu sa svojim statusom.

Drugi dio ugovora predviđa kako će postupati vazal iz Wiluse u slučaju ratnog pohoda njegovog hetitskog gospodara. Po pravilu, vazal je obavezan da pošalje pješadiju i bojna kola sa posadama. Zanimljiv je odlomak u kojem hetitski vladar definira koje su to vanjske sile koje su mu jednake po statusu : faraon Egipta, kralj Babilonije, kralj Hanigalbata i kralj Asirije. U trećem dijelu je vazal iz Wiluse obavezan i da vrši neku vrstu obavještajno – sigurnosne aktivnosti u korist hetitskog kralja i njegovih interesa. U četvrtom dijelu, se ističe da je Alaksandu, kralj Wiluse jedan od četiri kralja u zemlji Arzawe. Ostala trojica su Manapa – Kurunta (zemlja rijeke Seha), Kupanta – Kurunta (zemlja Mira) i Ura – Hatusa (zemlja Haballa). Po muškoj liniji Kupanta – Kurunta je potomak kralja zemlje Arzawa, a po majčinoj liniji potomak hetitskog vladara. Muvatal ističe da je Kupanta – Kurunta sin sestre njegovog oca Muršilisa. A pošto su njegovi podanici i ljudi Arzawe izdajnički raspoloženi, Alaksandu je dužan da i njemu aktivno pomogne. Isto tako će Kupanta – Kurunta pomoći Alaksandu. Isto tako se predviđa kakvo ponašanje Alaksandua će dovesti do kršenja zakletve (tj. ugovora). U petom dijelu se govori o bjeguncima, gdje se u odredbama jasno uočava potčinjenost Wiluse hetitskoj hegemoniji. Nakon toga se uspostavlja sistem po kojem je ugovor potrebno čitati pred Alaksanduom tri puta godišnje. Kao metafizički svjedoci ugovora navedena su božanstva, i to značajno veliki broj njih. Jedno od božanstava koje sa strane Wiluse i Alaksandua garantiraju ugovor je i "Gromonosac vojske" Apaliunas koji se često identificira sa Apolonom, božanstvom koje vrlo aktivno stoji na trojanskoj strani za vrijeme Trojanskog rata i koje bi se po trojanskom ciklusu moglo smatrati i glavnim ilionskim, trojanskim božanstvom.

Na kraju se kaže da će ako prekrši ovaj ugovor Alaksandu biti ovih božanstava iskorijenjen, kao i njegova supruga, sinovi, zemlje, gradovi, vinogradi, polja, stoka, ovce i sve ostalo što ima u posjedu. Oni će iskorijeniti njegovo potomstvo. Ali ako se bude pridržavao ovoga ugovora i hetitska božanstva i ona wiluska kao i osobni bog – gromonosac hetitskog kralja Muvatala, će ga štititi i njega i suprugu i sinove i unuke i gradove i ostalo nabrojano, i da će Alaksandu dugo živjeti.

Ovaj ugovor je nastao nakon dešavanja opisanih u pismu Manape – Turhunte, a prije bitke kod Kadeša u kojoj su učestvovala i (dardanske) trupe iz Troade. Ugovor CTH 76 pokazuje i da je Wilusa bila u značajnoj mjeri vjerna svome nešijskom/”hetitskom” gospodaru, kao garantu stabilnosti i ravnoteže u Maloj Aziji. Ugovor posebno ističe ta tri stoljeća dobrih odnosa Wiluse i Neša/”Hetita”. Iz teksta se javno može uvidjeti postojanje lokalne dinastije, čiji su članovi bili i Kukuni i Alaksandu. Kukuni je bio suvremenik Šupiluliuma I., djeda Muvatala II. Nejasan je odnos (rodbinski ili nasljedovni) Kukune i Alaksandua, iako bi se moglo pretpostaviti da pripadaju istoj dinastiji. Naravno postavlja se pitanje koliko je “sveta loza trojanska” iz starohelenske mitologije reminiscencija na ovu dinastiju iz Wiluse, u kojoj se vlast prenosi po pravu primogeniture. Alaksandu se dovodi u vezu sa Parisom (Πάρις),²⁸ čije je ime po rođenju bilo Aleksandar (Ἀλέξανδρος). Inače, samo ime Alaksandu ne ulazi u anatolisku onomastičku tradiciju i moglo bi biti transkripcija grčkog imena *Alexandros*.



²⁸ Smith W., 1849:III, 122 - 123; PWRE, 1949, XVIII. 4, col. ????

4. Tawagalawa pismo (AhT 4 = CHT 181)²⁹

Ovo je vrlo zanimljivo pismo iz korpusa diplomatske korespondencije između Nešijskog / "hetitskog" carstva i Ahhiyawa, koji se identificiraju sa Ahejcima, nositeljima mikenske civilizacije.³⁰ Tawagalawa pismo je treća tablica jedne duge poruke (čije prve dvije tablice nisu sačuvane) koju je hetitski vladar (moguće Hattušili III., mladi brat Muvatala II.) poslao vladaru Ahhiyawa. U sačuvanom i analiziranom dijelu, ovoga inače vrlo dugačkog pisma, govori se o ratnim, političkim i diplomatskim zbivanjima u zapadnoj Maloj Aziji. Opet se i u ovom pismu nailazi na Piyama-radu, koji na graničnom području egejske obale između Ahejaca i hetitske hegemonije prilično vješto jedan duži period manevrira, sa relativno nejasnom pozicijom i statusom koji posjeduje, izuzev što sa hetitskog stajališta je on taj koji pravi konstantne probleme. Napada i razara grad Attarimu, a kada je narod Lukka (Likijci) žalio se Tawagalawi (vjerojatni hetitski izgovor mikenskog – grčkog imena *Etewoklewes, iz kojeg se razvilo Eteokle/Ετεοκλής; značenje „istinski slavan“), on je otišao u ove zemlje. Lukka se žalio i hetitskom vladaru, koji je takođe došao u ove zemlje. Čim je hetitski vladar došao u grad Sallapu, Piyama – radu mu je poslao izaslanika, preko kojeg je ponudio da hetitski prestolonasljednik dođe po njega kako bi ga odveo hetitskom vladaru. Na ovo je hetitski vladar pristao, ali je Piyama – radu ipak odbio da sa prijestolonasljednikom dođe pred hetitskog vladara. Umjesto toga, Piyama – radu je čak zatražio da mu se dodijeli kraljevska čast odmah i ako se to ne desi, on neće doći pred hetitskog vladara. Kada je hetitski vladar došao u grad Waliwanda, poručio je Piyama – raduu da on dolazi u grad Iyalandu i neka iz njega povuče svoje ljude. Ali kada je hetitski vladar došao u Iyalandu, došlo je do borbi na tri mjesta. Lahurzi, brat Piyama – radua, je postavio i zasjedu hetitskoj vojsci. Na kraju je ipak pobijedila i opustošila zemlju Iyalanda. Hetitski vladar je onda pisao Piyama-raduu u Millawandu da se ponovo pojavi pred njim, i na glašavajući da Piyama – radu nastavlja napadati njegovu teritoriju. Iz smisla teksta bi se moglo pretpostaviti da Piyama – radu vrši napade sa graničnog područja sa Ahhiyawa. U pismu koje hetitski vladar upućuje kralju Ahhiyawa moglo bi se zaključiti da je Piyama – radu u Millawandi koja je pod kontrolom Ahhiyawa. Hetitski vladar upućuje i pitanje kralju Ahhiyawa, kojega naziva i „svojim bratom“, da li ili ne zna za napade Piyama-radua. Hetitski vladar dalje u pismu govori da kada je izaslanik kralja Ahhiyawa došao do njega, da mu nije donio nikakve pozdrave ili bilo kakav poklon, nego je samo izjavio da je pisao Atpi da preda Piyama-radua hetitskom vladaru. U pismu se navodi da je Piyama-radu i punac Atpi i izvjesnom Awayani. Sudeći po tekstu pisma, u ovaj čiatv diplomatski problem koji je izazivao Piyamu –radu je bio uključen Tawagalawa, kao predstavnik Velikog kralja (kako ga titulira hetitska diplomatka korespondencija) Ahhiyawa koji je zbog toga doplovio u Millawanda.

²⁹ Hoffner – Beckman, 2009: 296 – 313; Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011:101 – 122.

³⁰ O tekstovima u kojima se spominju Ahhiyawa, uključujući i hetitsko – ahejsku korespondenciju v. Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011.

Tawagalawa se u kasnijem dijelu dokumenta naziva i bratom kralja Ahhiyawa. Iz ove diplomatske korespondencija se može uočiti kao da Ahhiyawa na neki prikriveni način pokušavaju pokriti Piyama-radua, nastojeći istovremeno da se ne zamjere hetitskom vladaru. Iz pisma hetitske diplomatske kancelarije se jasno primjećuje kako je u rješavanje problema „Piyama-radu“ bio uključen skoro sva politička scena zapadne Male Azije. Ustvari glavni problem je to što Piyama – radu koristi teritoriju Ahhiyawa kao svoje sigurnosno zaleđe prilikom napada na zemlje pod vrhovništvom hetitskog vladara. Zato se u pismu hetitskog vladara i navodi kako on u Ahhiyawa području ostavlja zarobljenike koje je doveo sa svojih prepada, svoju suprugu, djecu i kućanstvo, a kada hetitska vojska krene na Piyama – radua on utekne na Ahhiyawa teritoriju. U pismu hetitski vladar pita kralja Ahhiyawa „da li odobrava ovo i je li znao to“. Zato hetitski vladar preporučuje kralju Ahhiyawa da pošalje poruku Piyama - Raduu sa sljedećim sadržajem: „Ustani i otidi u zemlju Hetita. Tvoj gospodar se pomirio sa tobom. Ako ne, pređi u zemlju Ahhiyawa, i na bilo koje mjesto ću te smjestiti....dodi i naseli se na drugo mjesto. Sve dok si neprijateljski raspoložen prema hetitskom kralju, budi neprijateljski nastrojen iz druge zemlje. Ne budi neprijateljski nastrojen iz moje zemlje. Ako želiš da radije budeš u Karkiya ili Masa, idi tamo. Hetitski kralj ubijedio me je oko stvari zemlje Wilusa oko koje su on i ja bili neprijatelji jedan drugom, i mi smo sklopili mir. Sada neprijateljstvo nije primjereno između nas.“

Odličnu analizu sadržaja treće tablice pisma daju Beckman - Bryce - Cline, 2011:119 – 122: „The document commonly referred to by scholars as the “Tawagalawa Letter” was written by a Hittite king to his Ahhiyawan counterpart. In it, the writer complains of the activities of a renegade Hittite subject Piyamaradu, who had been raiding Hittite vassal territory in western Anatolia and stirring up resistance against his overlord; the addressee of the document had apparently given tacit support to these activities, and granted Piyamaradu refuge in Ahhiyawan territory, to prevent his falling into Hittite hands. Neither the author’s nor the addressee’s name is preserved in what remains of the document—only the third of the three tablets which once made it up. Most scholars assign authorship to Hattusili II, thus giving the document a mid-thirteenth century date, though O. R. Gurney in an article published posthumously (2002) has revived an earlier view that Muwattalli II, brother and predecessor-but-one of Hattusili, was the king in question. (We shall, however, assume for the sake of the discussion below that it was Hattusili.) Similarly, we do not know the identity of the Ahhiyawan king. The text does, however, refer to his brother Tawagalawa, who had apparently come to western Anatolia to receive and transport to Ahhiyawan territory local rebels who had sought protection from Hittite authority. (“Tawagalawa” is commonly assumed to represent the Greek name Eteokles, Mycenaean *E-te-wo-ke-le-we*). But as Itamar Singer first pointed out (1983), the document makes only brief reference to Tawagalawa and is much more concerned with its author’s list of complaints against Piyamaradu. The letter mildly rebukes the Ahhiyawan king for the support he has given

Piyamaradu in the past, but its main purpose is to win Ahhiyawan cooperation in curbing the renegade's anti-Hittite activities in the future. This accounts for its author's largely conciliatory tone. Hattusili refers to an ultimately unsuccessful campaign he had conducted in the west. At the point where the broken text begins, he claims that he had marched to the west to quell an uprising in the Lukka lands, where loyalties appear to have been divided; some of the Lukka people had appealed to Tawagalawa and had been brought to him by Piyamaradu, presumably to arrange relocation in Ahhiyawan territory; others who had apparently been forcibly removed from their homeland by Piyamaradu had appealed to their Hittite overlord to rescue them. Gurney (1997) proposed that the events referred to here are those also attested in the fragmentary remains of Hattusili's Annals, which refer to a major rebellion in Lukka. In any case, it is clear from the letter that Piyamaradu was seen as the fomenter and leader of the anti-Hittite movements in the west and was the chief target of the Hittites' western campaign on this and probably other occasions. An attempted diplomatic settlement with him, initiated by Hattusili through his envoys while he was already on the march westwards, came to nothing when Piyamaradu allegedly quibbled over peace terms and remained defiant. His forces were eventually flushed out of a stronghold called Iyalanda after putting up vigorous resistance to their attackers, but Piyamaradu himself escaped capture and fled to Millawanda. The Hittite king pursued him to Millawanda, but entered its territory only after Piyamaradu had refused his demand to give himself up. This prompted Hattusili to send an appeal to the Ahhiyawan king, who allegedly responded by ordering Millawanda's local ruler Atpa (Piyamaradu's son-in-law) to hand over the renegade (§5). But when Hattusili entered Millawanda, Piyamaradu had already gone, taking flight from Millawanda by ship. He reestablished himself in Ahhiyawan territory, presumably on one of the islands controlled by the Ahhiyawan king off the western coast of Anatolia—beyond the reach of the Hittites, but close enough to continue his attacks on Hittite territory once Hattusili's forces had left the area. Hence Hattusili's approach now to the Ahhiyawan king. He suggested three courses of action the Ahhiyawan might take: a) persuade Piyamaradu to surrender to the Hittite authorities; b) allow him to stay in Ahhiyawan territory, on the clear understanding that he would remain there and engage in no further anti-Hittite activities; c) compel him to move to another country, taking his family and retinue with him (§12). The outcome of Hattusili's appeal is unknown. But it is unlikely, in view of subsequent events, that Ahhiyawan support of anti-Hittite activities in western Anatolia was in any way curtailed by the appeal. If anything, the Ahhiyawan king and his successor(s) continued to strengthen their influence in the region. Of particular significance is the fact that by this time Millawanda had become Ahhiyawan territory. That is evident from Hattusili's negotiations with his Ahhiyawan counterpart over Piyamaradu after the latter had fled to Millawanda, and from the fact that the local ruler of Millawanda at the time, Atpa, was clearly subject to the Ahhiyawan king's authority. We have seen that Mursili II had firmly reasserted Hittite sovereignty over Millawanda in his third regnal year (ca. 1319) after it had unsuccessfully sought to align itself with Ahhiyawa. But subsequently, it had come under

Ahhiyawan control, perhaps during the reign of Mursili's successor Muwattalli II (ca. 1295–1272), and perhaps with Muwattalli's agreement as he sought to stabilize affairs in the west before his showdown with the Egyptians in Syria. Archaeological evidence indicates a significant Mycenaean presence in Millawanda in this period. That ties in well with the textual evidence that indicates the consolidation of Ahhiyawan political control over this important western Anatolian territory. Millawanda was henceforth to serve as the base for the further spread of Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean influence on the mainland. It was in fact to remain the only major center of Ahhiyawan power on the Anatolian mainland. The letter provides us with some interesting information about earlier relations between its author and its recipient. Hostilities had apparently broken out between them over the country called Wilusa (§§12–13), which lay in northwestern Anatolia. (We shall have more to say about Wilusa below.) This is the only occasion in the Ahhiyawa corpus where there is a reference to what appears to have been direct conflict between Hatti and Ahhiyawa. In all other cases, hostile action by Ahhiyawa against Hatti appears to have been limited to support for the activities of local insurrectionists like Piyamaradu. However, we do not know what the nature or the scale of the hostilities was on this occasion, whether it amounted to outright war, a skirmish or two, or merely a verbal dispute conducted through diplomatic channels. (The verb *ku-ru-ri-iñ-ñu-e-en* used in this context could mean any of these things.) In any case, if Hattusili's claim that he was young at the time can be taken at face value, it may indicate that the episode in question occurred early in his regnal career, or perhaps even during the reign of his brother Muwattalli. Already at that time Hattusili exercised considerable political and military authority within the Hittite kingdom. We should also note the significance of Hattusili's regular references to his Ahhiyawan counterpart as a "Great King," and as "my brother," "my peer" (e.g., §6). These terms were not used lightly in international royal terminology. In the Near Eastern context, "Great Kingship" was confined to the rulers of Hatti, Egypt, Babylon, Mitanni and (after Mitanni's fall) Assyria. And only "Great Kings" addressed their peers as "my brother." Thus the Ahhiyawan king is accorded by Hattusili a status that must have far exceeded his actual importance in the Near Eastern world in general, particularly when compared to the pharaoh of Egypt and the rulers of Mesopotamia, from whom there is not a single reference to a king or kingdom of Ahhiyawa. The Ahhiyawan king of the Tawagalawa letter was but one of a number of rulers of the small kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age Greek world, albeit one whose territory included islands off the Anatolian mainland and a major base on the mainland. From Hattusili's point of view, he had become an important participant in the Near Eastern scene, to the extent that he warranted acknowledgement as a Great King and royal brother—terminology that implied full diplomatic equality between the two kings, and might serve a useful purpose in the Hittite's attempts to win over a man whose cooperation he was so anxious to secure. Indeed the "Great King" tag for the Ahhiyawan ruler appears to have survived in Hittite records for some time, perhaps until it was struck out of diplomatic parlance during the drafting of Tudhaliya IV's treaty with Shaushga-muwa of Amurru."

Završni dio pisma pruža jasan i nedvosmlen dokaz da se na teritoriju Troade desio oružani sukob između Ahejaca i hetitskog vazala Wiluse, koji je završen mirom. Nažalost, tok i vrsta sukoba kao i posljedice toga mira sudeći po podacima sa dosadašnjeg nivoa spoznaje za sada su nam nepoznate. Na osnovi ovoga bi se onda moglo pitanje historičnosti Trojanskog rata promatrati na jedan način, koji ne uključuje samo istraživanje mitološke građe i tradicije. Pošto se Wilusa pojavljuje i u kasnijem Milawata pismu kao postojana državica u zoni hetitske hegemonije, ona u ahejsko -hetitskom ratu (koji se spominje u Tawagalawa pismu) nije ni razorena ni opustošena.

Sudeći po načinu na koji se hetitski vladar obraća vladaru Ahhiyawa kao jednakom i sa priličnim uvažavanjem, evidentno je da je u prvoj polovici XIII. st. p. n. e. ahejsko „carstvo“ (šta god to značilo i koju formu stvarno imalo) prilično snažan politički i vojni faktor u egejskom bazenu. Ahejci su već imali i pod svojom kontrolom ili utjecajem i dijelove egejske obale Male Azije. Atpa, zet Piyama – radua, je upravljao Millawandom (moguće područje kasnijeg grčkog polisa Mileta) i to pod vrhovništvom kralja Ahhiyawa u vrijeme nastanka ovoga pisma.



Dokumenti iz nešijjskih/“hetitskih“ arhiva, starohelenska mitologija, tekstovi sa pronađenih tablica ispisanim sa linearnim pismom B³¹ i arheološki nalazi potvrđuju da su od XIV. st. pa u toku XIII. i početka XII. st. p. n. e. kontinentalni Ahejci krenuli u prekomorsku ekspanziju. Preduvjet za takve poduhvate bilo je slabljenje Minojske civilizacije, kao i prestanak kretske – minojske talasokratije. Upravo je prvi val ekspanzije išao prema Kreti, gdje su se Ahejci nametnuli kao elitni sloj stanovništva, i drugim egejskim otocima, a zatim i prema obalama Male Azije, pa i Kipra i Levanta. I upravo je vrlo agresivna ekspanzija Ahejaca prema egejskim obalama Male Azije u periodu od kraja XIV. pa do prvih decenija XII. st. p. n. e. poslužila kao okosnica „Trojanskog ciklusa“.³²

5. Milawata pismo (AhT 5 = CHT 182)³³ – okvirna datacija kraj XIII. st. p. n. e.

Ovaj hetitski dokument predstavlja pismo koje nešijjski/“hetitski“ vladar (možda Tudhaliya IV.) šalje jednom od svojih vazalskih kraljeva na zapadu Male Azije.³⁴ Hetitski vladar daje određenu historijsku retrospektivu vezano za ovo vazalno kraljevstvo. Tako ističe da je primatelj pisma dobio ovu zemlju u vlast, tako što je razvlašćen njegov otac koji je uvijek želio hetitske granične teritorije. Njegov otac je čak napao hetitsko područje, ali je bio poražen. Nakon toga je sin zamijenio oca na mjestu poglavara te zapadnomaloazijske oblasti i priznao je vrhovništvo hetitskog vladara. Hetitski vladar zatim konstatira da je ponovo uspostavljena granica hetitske hegemonije na moru. Zanimljivo je da se i u ovom pismu retrospektivno spominje neizbježni Piyama – Radu. Najvažniji odjeljak pisma je onaj koji se tiče izvjesnog Walme: „Kulanaziti drži u posjedu drvene tablice koje sam ja / “Moje veličanstvo“, „hetitski“ vladar op. S.M./ pripremio za Walmu, i on ih je sada donio tebi, moj sine / misli se na vazalskog kralja i nazivanje sinom ima simboličko značenje dobrohotne, skoro „familijarne“ potčinjenosti op. S.M./. Pregledaj ih. Sada, sine moj, dokle god se brineš o dobrobiti Moga Veličanstva, Ja, Moje Veličanstvo, će staviti svoje povjerenje u tvoju

³¹ Latacz, 2004:280 – 281 : A recently published study (J.Latacz misli na Parker, 1999 op. S.M.) compiles the following placenames or their derivations providing information relevant to our question: 1. *Trōs and Trōia* = ‘Trojan’ and ‘Trojan woman’: recorded three times, once at Knossos on Crete, twice at Pylos in the Peloponnese; there is now a further record from the great clay tablet discovery at Thebes. 2. *Imrios* = ‘man from (the island of) Imbrios’: recorded once at Knossos. 3. *Lamnīai*=‘women from (the island of) Lemnos’; recorded several times at Pylos. 4. *Aswīai*; recorded several times at Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae; evidently refers to women from the region called *Assuwa* by the Hittites, which has been linked with the place *Assos* in the Troad. 5. (possibly) *Kswīaia* = ‘women from (the island of) Khios’; recorded several times at Pylos. 6. *Milāīai* = ‘women from Miletos’ and *Knīdīai* = ‘women from Knidos’; recorded several times at Pylos and Knossos. These then are references to foreigners in Ahhiyawa³²; where the reference is to women, in the context of the time, clearly, work teams of women are meant—so foreign female workers.

³² Detaljnu analizu odnosa Hetita i Ahhiyawa, kao i ahejsko – mikenskom prisustvu na zapadu Male Azije i istočnog Mediterana v. u Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011: 267 – 283.

³³ Hoffner – Beckman, 2009: 313 - 321; Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011:123 – 133.

³⁴ Imena nisu sačuvana na dostupnom tekstu.

dobru volju. Pošalji/izruči mi Walmu, moj sine, tako da ga ja mogu ponovo postaviti za kralja u zemlji Wilusa. On će sada biti kralj zemlje Wilusa, kao što je bio i ranije. On će sada biti naš vojni vazal, kao što je bio i ranije“. U pismu se nadalje govori o granica zemlje Milawata i drugim političkim dešavanjima među gradovima i zajednicama zapadne Male Azije. Ovaj dokument potvrđuje da je i krajem XIII. st. p. n. e. Troada bila pod vrhovnom vlašću Hetitskog carstva. Tako da je rat koji je postao osnovica za tradiciju, epiku i mitologiju o Trojanskom ratu, morao uključivati i Hetite. Bilo kakav napad na Ilion je faktički u toku XIII. st. p. n. e. značio napad i na Hetitsko carstvo, pošto mu je Wilusa bila vjeran, ali i vrijedan vazal.

Vrijedi pročitati analizu ovog pisma u Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011: 131 – 133 : (“The document commonly known as the “Milawata Letter” is so called because the boundaries of the land of Milawata/Millawanda figure among the topics dealt with in it. But its coverage extends to other western Anatolian regions as well, providing us with several important, though fragmentary, pieces of information about the history of these regions during the last centuries of the Late Bronze Age. Its value as a historical source has been significantly enhanced by H. A. Hoffner’s discovery of a fragment in the Hittite tablet collection in Berlin that fitted precisely along one of the broken edges of what was till then the only recognized piece of the document (KUB 19.55, transl. in Garstang and Gurney 1959: 114–15). Hoffner’s text join (Hoffner 1982) made possible the correlation of a number of scraps of information contained in the originally separate fragments, and provided a basis for a partial reconstruction of some of the document’s most broken passages. The name of neither the author of the document nor its recipient appears in the surviving parts of the text. But there is general agreement that the former was Tudhaliya IV, and among the various candidates suggested for the latter, the most likely is Tarkasnawa, ruler of the Arzawan kingdom called Mira (thus Hawkins 1998: 19), which lay directly north of Milawata. We shall henceforth identify the author and recipient of the document by these names, on the understanding that there is as yet no hard proof for either identification. From the letter’s more substantial remains, we learn that Tudhaliya had engaged in military conflict with Tarkasnawa’s father, the former king of Mira (whose name was perhaps Alantalli; see Hawkins 1998: 18), who had seized Hittite frontier territories bordering his land and taken hostages from towns subject to Hittite sovereignty. Tudhaliya had defeated and deposed him, appointing his son Tarkasnawa in his place as the new ruler of Mira, one of the Arzawa lands that had been Hittite vassal territory from at least the early years of Mursili II’s reign. Tudhaliya seems to have formed a kind of partnership with Tarkasnawa, in which the latter assumed the role of a regional overlord, with immediate authority over a number of Hittite vassal territories in the west, while still remaining a subject of and directly answerable to the Hittite king. Such an arrangement would have been unprecedented in the imperial organization of the Hittite world, and may well have been prompted by the Hittites’ increasing difficulties in maintaining their authority unilaterally throughout their western

territories. Consistent with the new arrangement, Tudhaliya established in consultation with Tarkasnawa new boundaries for the land of Milawata, which bordered upon Mira to its north. From what we can make out from the broken text, Milawata was to remain independent of Tarkasnawa's authority. We have noted that at the time of the Tawagalawa letter, it was subject to the sovereignty of a king of Ahhiyawa. The absence of any reference to Ahhiyawa in the new arrangements made for Milawata's boundaries indicates that this was no longer the case. Milawata had by now been lost to the Ahhiyawan king and reverted to Hittite sovereignty, in circumstances unknown to us but perhaps as a result of one of Tudhaliya's western campaigns. With its loss, Ahhiyawa must have ceased to exercise any effective influence anywhere on the Anatolian mainland. This may provide the context for the erasure of the Ahhiyawan king from the list of Great Kings in the Shaushga-muwa treaty (AhT 2). An important feature of Hoffner's text join is the contribution it makes to the small body of information we have about the kingdom of Wilusa (§7'). This too was a Hittite vassal state, which most scholars now locate in northwestern Anatolia, in the region of the Classical Troad— thus supporting Kretschmer's equation of the Hittite name Wilusa with Homeric (W)Ilios. From the join, we learn that a man called Walmu, already known from KUB 19.55, was in fact a king of Wilusa who had been driven by rebels from his land and had sought refuge with Tarkasnawa. Walmu was in Mira when Tarkasnawa received the letter from his Hittite overlord. It was accompanied by a royal Hittite envoy called Kulana-ziti (previously read Kuwatna-ziti), who presented the local king with wooden tablets authenticating the refugee's claim to Wilusa's throne. This was to pave the way for the reinstatement of Walmu in Wilusa, after Tarkasnawa had handed him back to Tudhaliya; Walmu would henceforth resume his role as a "military vassal" (so Beckman translates the term *kulawaniā*) of both kings. Thus Tarkasnawa's role as regional overlord would have extended north along the Aegean coast and hinterland to the far northwest of Anatolia. He may also have exercised authority over the Seha River Land, which lay between his kingdom and Wilusa, but there is no reference to this land in what survives of the document. Despite the powers he assigned to Tarkasnawa, Tudhaliya did not fully trust him. An issue still to be resolved was his continuing detention of the hostages that his father had taken from the Hittite subject towns Utima and Atriya. That issue is raised by Tudhaliya in the final section of the letter before the text breaks off. The reference to Piyamaradu in a very broken passage in the letter would seem to indicate that this man, one of the Hittites' most dangerous enemies in the west, was still alive and active, and no doubt continuing his anti-Hittite activities in the region. But the fragment that mentions him (§6' rev. 10') reveals nothing about him beyond his name." Nešto kasnije u tekstu kod Beckman – Bryce – Cline, 2011:279 ponovo se nailazi na Walmu i njegov vazalni odnos : "We are also told in this text (AhT 5), though it may or may not be relevant, that a king of Wilusa named Walmu, who had been driven from his land by rebels, was to be reinstated, probably as a "military vassal" (*kulawaniā*), after Tarkasnawa had handed him back to Tudhaliya. This

probably indicates that Hittite aid to this kingdom, which had been ongoing since the days of Muwattalli II when a treaty was signed with Alaksandu, the ruler of Wilusa, in the early to mid-thirteenth century b.c.e., was still continuing.“

6. Ritualni tekst KUB 15.38

Spominjanje Wiluse u ritualnom tekstu grada Istanuwe³⁵ je dubiozno. U luvijskoj pjesmi koja se izvodila tokom libacije božanstvu Šuwašuna prvi stih glasi *ahḫa=ta=tta alati: awita wilušati* („Kada iz strme Wiluse izađu.“). Postoje dva mišljenja vezana za ovaj stih. Po prvom riječ je o stvarnom spominjanju Wiluse, pa bi to bio i početak jedne epske pjesme o njoj, tj. Troji.³⁶ Po drugom mišljenje, uopće se ne spominje Wilusa u smislu mjesta, grada, nego ima značenje livade (nešijski/hetitski Wellu).³⁷

O ovom pitanju vrijedi pročitati sumarni osvrt Joachima Latacza (2004:86 - 87): „In the light of this, the matter of the so-called „Wilusiad' also needed to be reconsidered. In 1984, at a symposium devoted to Troy and the Trojan War at Bryn Mawr College in the USA, the American Hittite scholar Calvert Watkins, in a paper on the language of the Trojans, put forward the theory that the four-word beginning of a Luwian cult hymn, quoted in the description of a Hittite ritual and evidently dating back to the sixteenth century sc, should be translated, 'When they came from steep Wilusa 'This line could well be the beginning of a Luwian epic lay, a "Wilusiad".' When this theory was made public in 1986, it was treated by all the media as a sensation, although it was rejected by most colleagues in the profession. While Starke proposed only the correction 'from the sea' instead of 'steep' ('when they came forth from the sea, from Wilusa'), Neumann pointed out that the Luwian word wilusa seemed to contain the Hittite root wellu- 'meadow, pasture', so the translation should run: 'when they came forth from ... the pasture-land', or 'when they came down from the pasturelands', and was to be understood as simply the opening line of a shepherd's song, sung after the autumn return from the high grazing grounds. Leaving aside the linguistic objections raised by some other specialists, this interpretation holds little attraction in the context of a cult hymn. A compromise suggested by Neumann himself seems more probable: the name of the hill could have been taken by the Hittites or Luwians to be related, owing to a phonetic similarity, to the familiar wellu-, so that a toponym which was not transparent to them in their own language was reinterpreted as having the meaning 'meadow', or something similar. Place-names with the component 'meadow' are widespread in Indo-European languages.“

³⁵ Precizna lokacija ovoga grada još uvijek nije određena. Možda se nalazio u području drevnog Gordiona u središnjoj Maloj Aziji.

³⁶ Watkins, 1986:58.

³⁷ Tischler, 2008:228.



Sudeći po ovom pismu, Tarkasnawa (koji je možda bio primalac pisma) je imao delegiranu od hetitskog vladara vlast nad značajnim dijelom zapadne Male Azije. Da li to ukazuje na određeno slabljenje hetitske moći, pa se smatralo primjerenim da se jednom njihovom vazalu dodijeli kontrola nad povelikim teritorijem na zapadnim područjima. O odnosu koji je Walmu imao prema i hetitskom vladaru i Tarkasnawi v. Hoffner – Beckman, 2009: 316 : “But the very fact that the text says that Walmu, king of Wiluša, was the *kulawani*-vassal of *both* the king of Ḫatti and the addressee Tarkasnawa, and that the fixing of the border with Millawanda was done in some sense jointly, so that the Hittite king says “we fixed” (GIN -u-en = *daiwen/tiyawen*), clearly indicates a position of special privilege. Perhaps Tarkasnawa’s position and relation to Walmu was not unlike that of Atpā, the son-in-law of Piyamaradu, whom the latter appointed over Manapa-Tarḫunta, king of the Šeḫa River Land. Piyama-radu remained the *de facto* overlord, as Bryce puts it, but Atpā was the immediate controller. Similarly Tudḫaliya was the *de facto* overlord of both Tarkasnawa and Walmu, but the former was the immediate controller of the latter..... Of great importance is the fact that recently their *kulawani*-vassal, the king of Wiluša named Walmu, had been expelled by rebels and fled south for refuge with Tarkasnawa, the king of Mira. A Hittite envoy named Kulanziti (some read Kuwatna-ziti) had rescued documents (GI Š.ḪUR.ḪI.A, rev. 38’) authenticating Walmu’s legitimate claim to the throne of Wiluša, and had brought them to Tarkasnawa for his perusal. The Hittite king (probably Tudḫaliya IV) requested Tarkasnawa to send Walmu to him as a first step in restoring him to the throne of Wiluša.”.

Nejasno je zbog kojih je razloga Walmu izbjegao iz Wiluse, da li je to bio vanjski napad ili unutarnja pobuna ili neka kombinacija i napada i pobune. Nejasno je da li je Walmu vraćen na tron Wiluse i ako jeste na koji način. Ono što je potrebno istaći da od tri kralja Wiluse (Kukuni, Alaksandu, Walmu) koji se pojavljuju u do danas poznatim hetitskim dokumentima, po direktnim imenskim analogijama jedino bi Alaksandu mogao naći svoje mjesto u trojanskom ciklusu. Međutim, to ne znači da se pod imenima Kukuni i Walmu ne kriju povijesne ličnosti koje su poslužile kao osnova za kreiranje arhetipova iz trojanskog ciklusa. Samo ime bi bilo prevedeno, modicifirano ili potpuno izmijenjeno zbog određenih okolnosti. Nije nerealno pretpostaviti da je možda Walma povijesna osoba na osnovi koje je izgrađen arhetip Eneje³⁸. Walmu se pojavljuje kronološki nakon Alaksandua (možda osnova za Parisa), a i Eneja vlada Trojancima nakon što je uništena glavna Prijamova loza. Eneja je bio vladar Trojanaca nakon Trojanskog rata, kao što je i Walmu vladar u Wilusi nakon osvjedočenog dokumentima potvrđenog sukoba Ahejaca i Hetita u Wilusi. Eneja je nakon pada Iliona izbjegao prema jugu (planini Idi), kao što je i Walmu pobjegao ili protjeran iz Wiluse i sklonjen kod Tarkasnawe (koji vlada područjem južno od Troade). Walmu je predodređeno da ponovo se vrati na prijestolje Wiluse, isto kao što je i Eneji predodređeno da vlada Trojancima nakon pada Iliona. I vremenski se više – manje podudaraju životi Eneje iz tradicije, epike i mitologije i Walmua iz hetitskih dokumenata. To što se imena ne podudaraju moguće je objasniti time da je povijesna osoba na osnovi koje je izgrađen arhetipski Eneja bio govornik luvijskog jezika, dok je ime Eneja nesumnjivo etimološki grčkog porijekla.

Na sličan način kao i Alaksandu sa mitološkim Parisom/Aleksandrom i Piyama – radu se u znanstvenoj literature dovodi u vezu sa arhetipom Prijama. Međutim, ova teza stoji na slabijim osnovama (iako nije nemoguća) jer se u sačuvanim dokumentima Piyama – radu ne dovodi u neku eksplicitnu vezu sa Wilusom. Osim toga to vjerojatno luvijsko ime, u različitim varijantama, je moglo biti često na zapadnomaloazijskoj obali, pa je možda postojao neki drugi Piyamu koji bi bio eksplicitnije vezan za Wilusu, koji je poslužio kao arhetip za mitološkog Prijama.

O tome da je Wilusa bila u XIII. st. p.n.e. bila zahvaćena političkim i vojnim turbulencijama v. Bryce, 2005:361 : „As far as we can judge from the meagre evidence provided by our Hittite texts, Wilusa figured in a number of military operations and/or political upheavals during the thirteenth century. These may well have involved or been supported by the king of Ahhiyawa, particularly given Piyamaradu's role as an agent for the expansion of Ahhiyawan interests in the western Anatolian states. On at least one occasion, a dispute over

³⁸ Eneja (Αἰνείας; *Aeneas*), trojanski princ iz pobočne linije vladajuće dinastije i vladar troadskih gradova Dardana i Ofrinija. Po mitologiji je bio sin Anhisa, rođaka Prijama, i boginje Afrodite/Venere. Eneja je bio akter jednog od najvažnijih stubova na kojima je počivala helensko – rimska klasična civilizacija → “Trojanskog ciklusa“, uključujući i onaj njegov dio koji se naziva „Ilijada“. O trojanskom princu Eneji v. Smith W., 1867:I, 30 – 32; Mesihović, 2018.

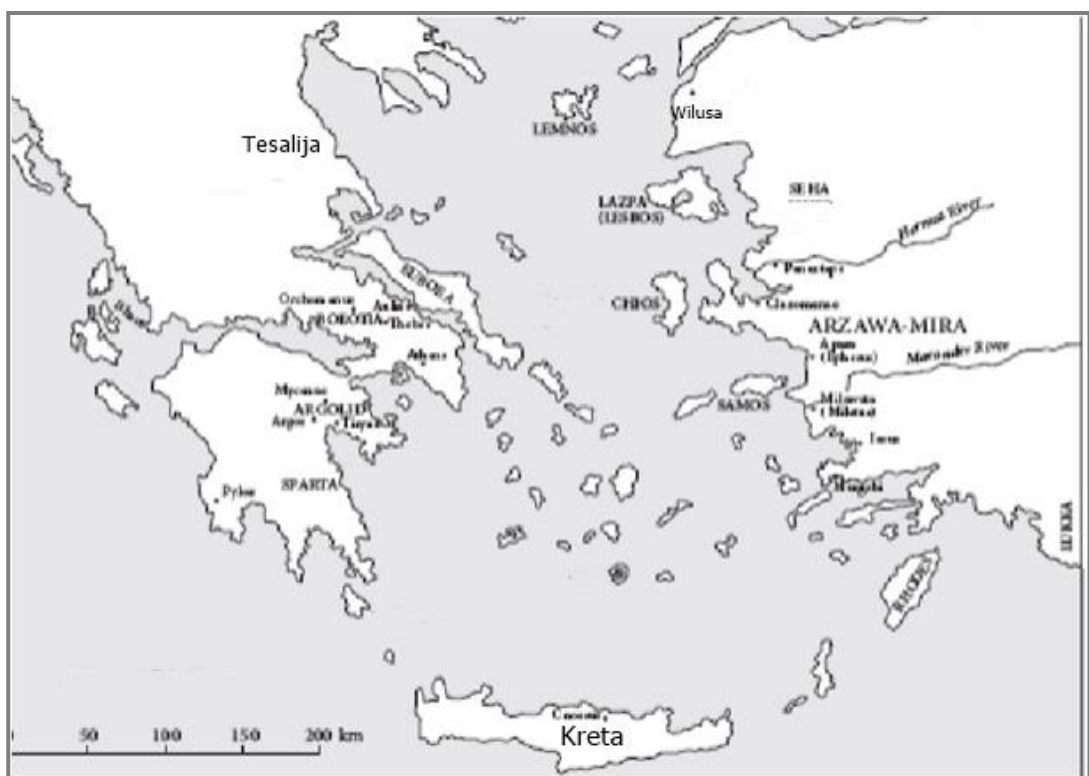
Wilusa had led to a confrontation between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, as attested in the so-called Tawagalawa letter (see Ch. 11). And Piyamaradu's aggressive activities in the region had the potential for stirring up fresh hostilities between the Hittite and Ahhiyawan kings. On a later occasion, upheavals in the same region led to the Wilusan king Walmu being driven from his throne (see Ch. 12), perhaps again a consequence of Ahhiyawan intervention in western Anatolian affairs. If we accept that the Ahhiyawans of the Hittite texts were Mycenaean Greeks, then we certainly cannot rule out the possibility that the conflicts, or one of the conflicts, involving Wilusa provided at least part of the historical foundation for the tradition of a Trojan War."

Zanimljivo mišljenje o samome procesu nastanka epike, u kontekstu hetitske dominacije u zapadnoj Maloj Aziji i postojanja Wiluse, koja govori o ahejskoj ekspanziji na maloazijske obale daje Trevor Bryce, 2005:368 - 370 : „Mycenaean involvement in western Anatolian affairs reached its peak in the same period. But the history of conflict between Mycenaean Greeks and native Anatolians in western Anatolia goes back at least to the early fourteenth century when Attarssiya, a 'man of Ahhiya' was involved in military action with 100 chariots against the Hittites on the Anatolian mainland (see Ch. 6). It is just possible that Attarssiya was the Hittite way of writing the Greek name Atreus, a name borne in Greek tradition by one of the early rulers of Mycenae. Could the Trojan War tradition have begun with a military engagement between Mycenaean Greeks and Anatolians in the early fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century? Professor Vermeule has argued that there are linguistic as well as other elements in the Iliad which could well be dated to this period. From a study of a number of passages in the poem, she concludes that the deaths of 'Homeric' heroes like Hektor and Patroklos were already sung in the fifteenth or fourteenth centuries. Thus Homer's epic contained elements which go back a century, or perhaps much more, before the period when the Trojan War was alleged to have taken place. Ballads and lays celebrating Greek heroic exploits in western Anatolia may well have been sung at the courts of Mycenaean kings and noblemen in the thirteenth century. But they could have reflected episodes from a distant as well as a more recent past. The tradition on which the Iliad was based may have begun much earlier than many scholars currently believe. With each succeeding generation, new episodes, new elements were added to the ongoing saga of conflict between Greeks and Anatolians. The process continued beyond the end of the Bronze Age. This is apparent in a number of matters of detail in both the Iliad and the Odyssey. Attention has often been drawn to various inconsistencies in such detail, which make it clear that 'Homeric society' consisted of elements drawn from three different periods—the Mycenaean Age, the so-called Dark Age, and the early Iron Age. These inconsistencies support the notion of a dynamic oral tradition, in which details can readily be adapted to reflect contemporary fashions, practices, and beliefs. We should think of Homeric tradition as consisting of a number of chronological layers covering a period of many centuries, with each layer adding to or blending in with preceding layers, with Bronze

Age warriors inhabiting a Dark Age world, and vice versa. Finally the tradition of a Greek–Anatolian conflict was distilled in Greek literature into the story of a single major conflict. But it needed a specific setting—a citadel in north-western Anatolia whose population was subjected to a ten-year siege by Achaian Greeks. The citadel was finally occupied and destroyed by the Greeks, and its population was dispersed— according to Greek tradition. Is such an event purely the result of a creative poetic imagination? Perhaps not entirely. We have linked Homeric Ilion/Troy with the Anatolian state of Wilusa, and noted the military actions affecting Wilusa during the thirteenth century in which Mycenaean Greeks may have been directly or indirectly involved. Yet it is clear from the Hittite records that Wilusa survived any attacks and enemy occupations inflicted upon it. The archaeological record also bears this out—if Wilusa’s royal seat is the citadel of Hisarlık–Troy. Troy too rose again almost immediately after its destruction at the end of Level VI. But there did come a time when Troy was left virtually derelict—at the end of level VIIb, some time between 1100 and 1000. This was after the collapse of the major Bronze Age civilizations in the Near East. The agents of Troy’s destruction at this time may well have been marauding groups similar to the Sea Peoples of the Egyptian records. Whether or not that is so, we cannot rule out the possibility that an episode or episodes from this period contributed significantly to the tale of conflict in the Iliad, and may in fact have provided the epic poet with a closure for his tale. All this contributed to the making of the epic: a long tradition of conflicts between western Anatolian peoples and Mycenaean Greeks or their agents, a north-western Anatolian state which on several occasions in the thirteenth century may well have been a victim of these conflicts, the final destruction and abandonment of the citadel of this state. It was a ruined and largely deserted site that greeted Greek travellers to the Troad from the Aiolian and the Ionian peoples who settled in western Anatolia after the Bronze Age. Tradition associated this site with an extended conflict or series of conflicts between the immigrants’ Bronze Age ancestors and the local population and their allies. They now saw before them Troy’s ultimate fate—its destruction and abandonment. Perhaps it was in this context that the epic of the Trojan War began to take final shape.“.

O nekim uzrocima pohoda Ahejaca na Troadu zanimljivu opservaciju daje Trevor Bryce, 2005:364 : „Yet if Troy equates with the kingdom of Wilusa, and Ahhiyawa with a Mycenaean Greek kingdom, then our Hittite records may indicate that the longstanding peaceful commercial intercourse between Greeks and Trojans was interrupted on a number of occasions, particularly in the thirteenth century, by disputes and perhaps open conflict between them. Such hostilities had wider ramifications. As we have noted, Wilusa had been the subject of a confrontation between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, possibly because of an Ahhiyawan or Ahhiyawan-sponsored attack on the Hittite vassal state. A number of reasons have been suggested for an assumed Mycenaean assault, or series of assaults, on Troy, most of them rather more prosaic than a desire to revenge an outraged husband and recapture a beautiful Mycenaean queen. Perhaps Mycenaean aggression was due to a squabble over use

of the Hellespont by Greek merchant ships; Troy may have used its strategic location on the Hellespont to prevent Greek vessels sailing through the straits to the Black Sea, or to impose heavy tolls on ships to which it did grant safe passage. Its location on an alleged major route linking Anatolia with central Europe may also have made it an attractive target for Greek conquest. Perhaps the war had something to do with attempts to gain control of the excellent fishing grounds provided by the Hellespont: ‘Troy with its former large bay would not only have formed an ideal harbour base for fishing, but the bay itself would almost certainly have been seasonally full to bursting with fish shoals.’ Another suggestion is that the conflict arose over access to copper resources“.



Do danas nije na lokalitetu Troje nađen nijedan pisani nalaz koji bi jasno identificirao ovaj lokalitet po njegovom brončanodobnom imenu. Razlog je moguće tražiti u činjenici što je nekadašnja ilionska gradina nivelirana u toku izgradnje Iliona/*Iliuma* (Troja IX), pa su tada moguće uništena mnoga pisana svjedočanstva. Da se pismo (bar u određenoj mjeri) koristilo u brončanodobnom Ilionu dokazuje nalaz jednog pečata (pronđen 1995. god.) sa luvijским

znakovima.³⁹ O tome v. Bryce, 2005:361 – 362 : „But to date only one piece of writing has come to light in Troy. During the course of excavations in 1995, a biconvex bronze seal bearing a brief inscription in Luwian hieroglyphs was discovered. On one side of the seal a man's name appears, along with his profession as scribe. On the other side is the name of a woman. Unfortunately neither name is complete, but presumably the pair are husband and wife. The seal belongs within the context of level VIIb1, and thus dates to the second half of the twelfth century—well after any feasible date for a Trojan War of the kind narrated by Homer (see below). Nor can we be sure whether the seal originated in Troy or was imported there, though an argument advanced in favour of the former is that we have the actual original seal and not just an impression of it. The seal may thus provide us with our first tangible evidence not only of writing in Troy in the second millennium—albeit at a very late date—but also of an actual scribal presence there, since the seal owner identifies himself as a scribe. Further, the language of the inscription is our first tangible indication that the population of Troy at this time was at least partly of Luwian origin. Of course one swallow does not make a summer, and we must be wary about jumping to any firm conclusions either about literacy in Troy or the ethnicity of its population on the basis of a single small and very late piece of evidence. But it is a start. And we can always hope that at Hisarlık a tablet archive will one day emerge—as has happened more than once in recent years at a number of other sites of the Late Bronze Age world.“

Ugovor Muvatala II. i Alaksandua bi mogao govoriti da je u Wilusi postojala dvorska diplomatska kancelarija sa arhivom pisanih dokumenata, i koja je poznavala i ostvarivala komunikaciju i na nešijskom/hetitskom jeziku koji je uostalom vrlo sličan luvijskom. O postojanju te dvorske pisarne u Wilusi bi govorio i odjeljak istoga ugovora koji glasi: „ova tablica koju sam ja učinio za tebe, Alaksandu, će se čitati pred Tobom tri puta godišnje.“ O korištenju pisma u Wilusi bi govorio i podatak i Milawata pisma po kojem postoje dokumenti (drvene tablice) koji dokazuju legitimitet zahtjeva Walmu na tron Wiluse. Pismo i jezik na ovim tablicama su bili razumljivi i Walmi, i hetitskoj dvorskoj diplomatskoj kancelariji i primatelju Milawata pisma. Radi toga se može pretpostaviti da je i jezik, kojim su bile zapisane tablice koje dokazuju legitimitet Walme, bio luvijski. Ali ova upotreba pisma u Wiluse je sigurno bila dosta ograničena, pa se i izgubila u toku krize sustava brončanodobnih civilizacija i na razmeđu dva milenijuma. Tako da je glavna transmisija informacija o Troji i Trojanskom ratu, a koja je vodila ka kreiranju homerovskih epova išla oralnim putem. Naravno, ne bi trebalo isključiti i eventualno bar rudimentarno korištenje i pisanih tragova od onih koji su modelirali svoju epiku. Da je luvijski bio jezik Iliona i Troade možda bi potvrđivala i teorija koja ime Prijam etimološki veže za luvijsku složenicu „Priimuua“ / “Pariya-muwa“, što bi značilo „iznimno hrabar“.⁴⁰ Bez obzira da li

³⁹ Riječ je o pečatu se luvijskim hijeroglifima koji se datira u stratum Troja VIIa.

⁴⁰ Starke, 1997:447 – 487.

bio ili ne govorni jezik stanovnika Iliona, luvijski jezik ili neke njegove varijacije su bile poznate u ovom gradu. To ne bi trebalo da čudi, imajući u vidu da je luvijski jezik bio neka vrsta „lingua franca“ u kasnobrončanodobnoj Maloj Aziji.



Pečat ispisan luvijskim hijerogrlifima, a nađen na lokalitetu Troje.

Inače u Ilijadi i drugim epovima, legendama i mitovima „trojanskog ciklusa“, Trojanci se sporazumijevaju sa Ahejcima bez prevođenja. To je navodilo na pretpostavku po kojoj su i Trojanci možda bili govornici nekog starogrčkog dijalekta. Međutim, najvjerojatnije je i u ovom slučaju riječ o „*licentia poetica*“, kako se poetsko – epski „slijed“ ne bi usložnjavao sa problemom različitih jezika Ahejaca i Trojanca i komunikacije sudionika radnje. I u drugim mitovima i epovima se njihovi i autori i prenosioci uopće ne „zamaraju“ sa postojanjem stvarnih jezičnih barijera između arhetipskih sudionika. Tako Jason komunicira

bez jezične barijere sa Medejom iz udaljene gruzijske Kolhide, a naš Eneja sa feničankom Didonom i italikom Turnom. Sličan obrazac se može vidjeti i u većini holivudskih historijskih filmova gdje svi akteri govore engleski jezik, bez obzira na vrijeme i prostor odigravanja radnje te stvarnu lingvističku pripadnost likova. Ipak, činjenično stanje govorenja različitih jezika nije moglo biti potpuno zanemareno i odbačeno od epskih stvaralaca. Kada se izdigne iznad onih tipova radnje kada je *licentia poetica* neophodna (npr. u neposrednom razgovoru između trojanskih i ahejskih učesnika te radnje), u Ilijadi se nailazi na niz podataka koji ipak pokazuju jezičku šarolikost. To je upravo izraženo na trojanskoj strani, gdje se navodi da trojanski saveznici govore različitim jezicima.⁴¹ Za razliku od njih, Ahejci su jezično uniformni.⁴²

⁴¹ *Ill.* II, 802 – 806; IV, 433 – 438.

⁴² O pitanju jezika koji se govorio u Troadi v. Kamptz, 1982:380 – 382; Watkins, 1986; Puhvel, 1991; Starke, 1997:447 – 487; Mackie, 1998:408 – 409; Latacz, 2004:49 – 72; Dalby, 2006:129 – 133; Yakubovich, 2010: 117 – 129.

Zaključak

Na osnovi prezentiranih podataka iz dostupne dokumentarističke građe, mogli bi se dati bar neki historijski međaši historijskog razvitka Wiluse.

Wilusa je bila razvijeno brončanodobno naselje i politička jedinica koja je kontrolirala strateški vrlo bitno područje, čvorište puteva koji su u pravcu istok – zapad povezivali Europu sa Malom Azijom i dalje sa Levantom i Mesopotamije i u pravcu jug – sjever povezivali mediteranski svijet sa crnomorskim obalama, Podunavljem, Kavkazom i središnjom Azijom. Uz to, područje kojim vlada Wilusa je bilo i plodno, pa je i razvijena poljoprivredna djelatnost donosila značajno bogatstvo. Veličina i urbani karakter Wiluse morali su podrazumijevati i prilično razvijeno zanatstvo.

Na osnovi podataka u historijskoj retrospektivi u ugovoru Muvatala II. i Alaksandua, još početkom XVI. st. p. n. e. uspostavljene su dubinske veze Wiluse sa Hetitskom državom. Wilusa je u tom odnosu imala subordiniranu ulogu, ali ipak sa značajnom autonomijom. I u vrijeme kada je došlo do slabljenja hetitske moći i hegemonije, i povlačenja prema istoku, Wilusa je nastavila održavati odnose sa vladarima iz Hatuše. U tom periodu XIV. st. p. n. e. kada se desilo slabljenje Hetitske države, na zapadu Male Azije dominantnu ulogu ima Arzawa koja tada održava i diplomatske veze čak i sa Egiptom. Nejasan je kontekst odnosa Wiluse u odnosu na Arzawu, iako je moguće da je u tom periodu Wilusa priznavala ili neki senioritet Arzawe ili bila u savezništvu sa njom. Na kraju XIV. st. p. n. e. Šupiluliuma I. i Muršilis II. su srušili Arzawu kao jedinstvenu politiju i podijelili je u niz malenih vazalnih kraljevstava. Samo ime Arzawa je ostalo samo kao opći naziv za prostore tih državnica.

Sa ponovnim obnavljanjem hetitske moći, u periodu kraj XV. – početak XIV. st. p. n. e. i Wilusa je morala priznati hegemoniju Hetitskog carstva, iako je zadržala svoju institucionalnu autonomiju. Međutim, u toku XIV. st. p. n. e. iz još uvijek nepoznatih razloga, Wilusa se našla izvan okvira hetitske hegemonije. U vrijeme kada je Piyama – radu izazivao probleme i turbulencije na egejskoj obali, Muvatal II. je poslao vojsku pod zapovjedništvom Kassua, koja je uspjela da ponovo uspostavi hetitsku hegemoniju nad sjeverozapadom Male Azije, uključujući i Wilusu. Izgleda da ovo otpadnuće nije bilo dužeg trajanja, jer u tekstu ugovora Muvatala II. i kralja Alaksandua se ističe da je Kukuni raniji kralj Wiluse bio u miru sa Šupiluliumom I. Ovaj ugovor koji je sklopljen oko 1280. god. p. n. e. jasno potvrđuje i zavisnost, ali i određenu autonomiju, Wiluse u odnosu na Hetitsku državu. U skladu sa odredbama ugovora su vjerovatno u bitci kod Kadeša 1274. učestovali i odredi iz Troade. Ugovor Muvatala II. i Alaksandua otkriva i snagu wiluske političke jedinice, koja je zauzimala jedno značajno, strateški bitno i bogato područje na sjeverozapadu Male Azije. Wilusa je raspolagala i sa značajnim vojnim efektivima.⁴³

⁴³ Latacz, 2002, 7: „In several places the Alaksandu Treaty assumes readers’ knowledge as a matter of course that Wilusa possessed modern battle chariots, trained horses to pull them ready for instant deployment and

U godinama nakon sklapanja ovoga ugovora, prije pisma koje je hetitski vladar slao Velikom kralju Ahhiyawa, a u vrijeme izražene aktivnosti Piyama – Radua, na egejsko-maloazijskom području došlo je zbog Wiluse do sukoba između Hetitske carstva i Ahejaca. Moguće je da su ustvari Ahejci napali područje Troade, i da je sukladno ugovoru Muvatala II. Alaksandua intervenila hetitska strana kako bi zaštitila svoga vazala. Po svemu sudeći hetitska i wiluska strana je bila uspješnija u ovom sukobu. Ali decenijama kasnije, Wilusa je opet bila u problemima i opet je bila potrebna hetitska intervencija kako bi na tron Wiluse bio vraćen Walmu, koji je bio svrgnut i prognan sa područja Wiluse. Nepoznato je zašto i kako je došlo do svrgavanja Walmua, a može se pretpostaviti da je on bio vraćen na vazalsku kraljevsku dužnost u Wilusi koja sigurno postoji bar do kraja XIII. st. p. n. e. Inače su svoj vrhunac hetitska moć i hegemonija doživjeli sredinom XIII. st. p. n. e., kada je zauzeto i ahejsko uporište Millawanda/Milawata (prostor Mileta), čime je dinastija koja vlada Ahhiyawa izgubila svoj maloazijski mostobran. Takvo stanje je potrajalo izgleda sve do sloma Hetitskog carstva.⁴⁴

Wilusa je slijedila sudbinu svoga hetitskog sizerena i u narednom XII. st. p. n. e. Raspad jedinstvene hetitske države i najeзде i turbulencije XII. st. p. n. e. su pogodili i Wilusu.⁴⁵ Nagli slom hetitske hegemonije i nestanak nekada moćnog zaštitnika Wiluse, su izgleda onda odlučili iskoristiti Ahhiyawa vladari koji su pokrenuli jedan veliki združeni⁴⁶ napad ili napade na ovaj bogati grad i njegovo strateško područje. I taj rat ili ratni pohodi mikenskih Grka na Troadu sa početka XII. st. p. n. e. su ostali kao reminiscencija u kolektivnom sjećanju koja se izražavala u vidu tradicije i epike trojanskog ciklusa, pučkoj javnosti ponajbolje poznato kao Trojanski rat iz dva Homerova epa.⁴⁷

skilled charioteers and fighters (entirely apart from the availability of operable infantry, possibly with a troop strength of more than a few hundred, mentioned several times in the Alaksandu Treaty). This means that Wilusa in the 13th century BC must have been very well known and enjoyed economic and military power which went far beyond that achieved by corresponding minor principalities which were not particularly noteworthy.“

⁴⁴ Latacz, 2004:284 - 286

⁴⁵ Latacz, 2002:8 : „The Hittite Kingdom disintegrated in about 1175. Wilusa, too, with its links to Hattusa confirmed by treaty may have been involved in the process which preceded that collapse. In any case, there was a severe conflagration at Wilusa in about 1200 – a burnt deposit several metres thick still attests to it. Whether the people of Ahhiyawa (Achaeans) had participated in the fire – and if so, in what way – is not yet clear. The findings of recent years have, however, increased the likelihood that they did have something to do with the conflagration. After the sweeping conflagration Wilusa continued to be inhabited, albeit on a reduced scale. The demographic structure and the culture were changed by waves of immigration from the Balkan region. The settlement seems to have gone into eclipse in about 950.“

⁴⁶ Po katalogu brodova iz Ilijade u napadu na Ilion su učestovali Ahejci/Danajci (mikenski Grci) iz Beotije, Fokide, Lokride, Eubeje, Atike, Salamine, Argolide, Lakonije, Mesenije, Arkadije, Elide, jonskih otoka, Etolija, Krete, Rodosa, južnih Sporada, Tesalije, Pinda, Peliona.

⁴⁷ Latacz, 2004:286 – 287.

Skraćenice

AhT	Ahhiyawa Texts
CTH	Catalogue des Textes Hittites, Paris
HPM	Hethitologie Portal Mainz
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann LTD - Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press
MH	Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb
MS	Matica Srpska, Novi Sad
PWRE ⁴⁸	Paulys - Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici, Rim
StTr	Studia Troica, Mainz (Philipp von Zabern) 1, 1991 –

⁴⁸ Paulys - Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft ili Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft ili Pauly-Wissowa takode i Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll (pored PWRE, skraćenice i P.-W. ili RE) je obimna i sveobuhvatna njemačka enciklopedija antičkog svijeta i helensko – rimske klasične civilizacije koja je izlazila od 1893. do 1978 — Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (BHS: „Paulijeva Realna enciklopedija klasične nauke o starini“). PWRE je bila zamišljena kao potpuna dopuna i prerada ranijeg djela pod nazivom Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung (BHS: „Realna enciklopedija klasnične nauke o starini uređena po alfabetskom redosledu“). (Realna enciklopedija klasične nauke o starini) čiji je autor bio August Fridrih Pauli (kojem se pridružilo još 17 autora) i koja je pokrenuta 1837. god., a nastavljena i nakon smrti Paulija (1845. god.) sve do 1852. god. Na osnovi ovoga originalnog enciklopedijsko – leksikografskog djela započeo je Georg Visova sa izdavanjem svoje edicije, a nakon njega su taj posao nastavili Vilhelm Kroll, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Cigler i Hans Gartner.

PWRE ima 66 tomova, 15 sveski dopuna i dva registra koji su objavljeni 1980. god., dok je 1997. god. izašao konačni registar u dva dijela po alfabetskom redu i sistematiziran. Svaki članak u PWRE pisali su priznati stručnjaci za odgovarajuću oblast. Neke članke s obzirom na dužinu mogu se smatrati kao manje monografije. Neki članci su bili izdati samostalno.

Pored toga, od 1964. do 1975. je izlazila skraćeno, modernizovano i svima dostupno izdanje — Der Kleine Pauly Lexikon der Antike. Auf Grundlage von Pauly's Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Konrat Ziegler, Walther Sontheimer und Hans Gartner. (tzv. „Mali Pauly“). Od 1996. izašlo je 12 tomova Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike (tzv. „Novi Pauly“), koji su prošireni sa tri toma historije recepcije i historije nauke, kao i jednom serijom dodataka.

Osim antike Novi Pauly u svojim sadržajima bavi se i temama iz osnovne grčko-rimske civilizacije u staroorijentalnim kulturama kao i egipatskoj kulturi kao i kulturama okolnih naroda i vizantistikom. U saglasnosti sa savremenim trendovima Novi Pauly više prati transformacije starovekovnog sveta u kasnoj antici i proširuje svoje posmatranje sve do godine 600. pa i dalje.

Specifikum za projekat Novog Paulija je izdanje posebnih svezaka koje se odnose na historiju izučavanje antike i klasičnih civilizacija. Najpre je bilo u vidu izdavanje 12 tomova Leksikona antike, 3 toma ka Recepciji antike i jedan registar. Umesto 16 tomova na kraju je izašlo 19. Svezak dopuna je izašao 2002. god., a dalji (6 zasada) su u pripremi. Od 2002. u izdavaštvu Brill izlazi i engleska verzija Novog Paulija.

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⁴⁹ William Smith (20. V. 1813. – 7. X. 1893. god.) je bio britanski leksikograf koji je najzaslužniji za objavljivanje niza epohalnih leksikografskih rječnika koji su se bavili baštinom klasične grčko – rimske civilizacije:

1. Prvo je 1842. god. objavljen „A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities“. Drugo veće i poboljšano izdanje je iz 1848, a i kasnije izlazio u editiranim izdanjima sve do 1890. Veći dio ovoga rječnika za grčke i rimske starine je sam William Smith napisao.
2. Zatim je 1849. slijedio „Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology“ u tri volumena. Ustvari ovo djelo je originalno objavljeno 1844. pod nešto drugačijim naslovom. Uz urednika W. Smitha u stvaranju ovoga rječnika grčke i rimske biografije i mitologije je učestvovalo još 35 autora (učenjaka klasične civilizacije) članaka, natuknica i definicija.
3. I na kraju „Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography“. Prvi tom rječnika za grčku i rimsku geografiju je izašao 1854, a drugi tom 1857. god. Uz urednika W. Smitha u stvaranju ovoga rječnika grčke i rimske geografije je učestvovalo još 17 autora (učenjaka klasične civilizacije) članaka, natuknica i definicija.

Iako su na ovim leksikografskim rječnicima radili i mnogi drugi učenjaci, u bibliografiji, natuknicama u glavnom tekstu i fusnotama ovoga djela oni se navode kao Smith, W. godina izdanja, tom, broj stranice. Stvarni autor citiranog članka ili natuknice se uvijek nalazi u inicijalima na kraju članka u konkretno korištenim rječnicima. U slučaju da iza članka/natuknice nema inicijala autora, onda je članak/natuknica napisan od Editor/urednika = Smith, 1867:I, vi : „The Articles which have no initials attached to them are written by the Editor“.

William Smith je zaslužan i za objavljivanje nekoliko školskih rječnika, zatim seriju „Principia“ za učenje starogrčkog i latinskog jezika, „Student's Manuals of History and Literature“, „Latin–English Dictionary based upon the works of Forcellini and Freund“ (završeno 1855. god.), „Dictionary of the Bible“ (1860–1865), „Dictionary of Christian Antiquities“ (1875–1880), „Dictionary of Christian Biography“ (1877–1887), „The Atlas“ (1875).

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Životopis

Salmedin Mesihović je rođen 5. IV. 1975. god., u Sarajevu gdje je završio osnovnu školu i gimnaziju. U akademskoj 1995/1996. god. upisuje studij historije na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu, na kojem je i diplomirao u oktobru 1999. god., na temu „Glasinačka kultura“. Od aprila 2000. god. zaposlen je na istom Odsjeku kao asistent. Poslijediplomski studij iz arheologije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu upisao je krajem 2001. god., i magistrirao na temu «Problem kulturne i etničke zajednice Autarijata» 7. VI. 2004. god. u Zagrebu. Naredne 2005. god. nastavio je školovanje na jednogodišnjem doktorskom studiju iz stare povijesti na Odsjeku za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu. Doktorirao je na temi «Dezitiviti: kulturna i narodnosno-politička zajednica u Iliriku i osvajanja Oktavijanova doba» 30. I. 2007. god. u Zagrebu. U martu 2009. god. izabran je u zvanje docenta na oblast stari vijek na Odsjeku za historiju Filozofskog fakulteta, a u septembru 2013. god. je izabran u zvanje vanrednog profesora za istu oblast. U zvanje redovnog profesora za nastavne predmete iz drevnih civilizacija, klasične civilizacije i ilirskih studija prof. dr. sc. Mesihović Salmedin je izabran 2. VII. 2019. godine.

U dosadašnjem naučno - istraživačkom radu Salmedin Mesihović je objavio 44 naučna rada, kao i sljedeće knjige:

1. ANTIQVI HOMINES BOSNAE.
2. Revolucije stare Helade i Rimske Republike.
3. Rimski vuk i ilirska zmija. Posljednja borba.
4. Progresivizam.
5. Popratna djela. Sabrani članci, opservacije, 34 komentara.
6. Zemlje antičkog Ilirika prije i poslije Milanskog edikta, koautorstvo.
7. Historija Autarijata.
8. PROCONSVLES, LEGATI ET PRAESIDES. Rimski namjesnici Ilirika, Gornjeg Ilirika i Dalmacije.
9. Ilirike.
10. ORBIS ROMANVS (Udžbenik za historiju klasične rimske civilizacije).
11. Filipike.
12. Historija Ilira, koautorstvo sa Amrom Šaćić.
13. Helenske apoikije u Italiji i Siciliji.
14. Liberalna frakcija rimskog nobiliteta – Gaj Lelije i Scipion Emilijan.
15. Tito i mi – jučer, danas, sutra, koautorstvo.
16. Drugo izdanje knjige “Tito i mi – jučer, danas, sutra”, koautorstvo.

17. Helenske apoikije u Italiji i Siciliji”, II (printano) izdanje.
18. Liberalna frakcija rimskog nobiliteta – Gaj Lelije i Scipion Emilijan, II (printano) izdanje.
19. Geneza zla. Agrarna kriza: ekonomski i socijalni pad Republike.
20. Hrestomatija. *Origines*. Izbor iz izvorne građe o nastanku rimskog svijeta.
21. Bitka za Ilirik.
22. Kraljevstvo pobunjenih robova.
23. Epizoda iz povijesti montiranih sudskih i političkih procesa – Progon braće Publija i Lucija Kornelija Scipiona.
24. Publije Mucije Skevola. Jurista, revolucionar, historičar.
25. Preci u nama. Genetičko blago Bosne i Hercegovine. Koautorstvo sa Damir Marjanović i Dragan Primorac.
26. CORNELIA AFRICANA MINOR, FILIA SCIPIONIS ET MATER GRACCHORVM. Prilog izučavanju revolucionarne uloge žena u politici klasične civilizacije.
27. LEX SEMPRONIA AGRARIA. Prilog historiji revolucionarnog zakonodavstva.
28. Kako se kalio revolucionar.
29. Historijsko daleko zrcalo.
30. Tajna drevnog svijeta: Paladij / The secret of ancient world: Palladium.